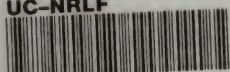
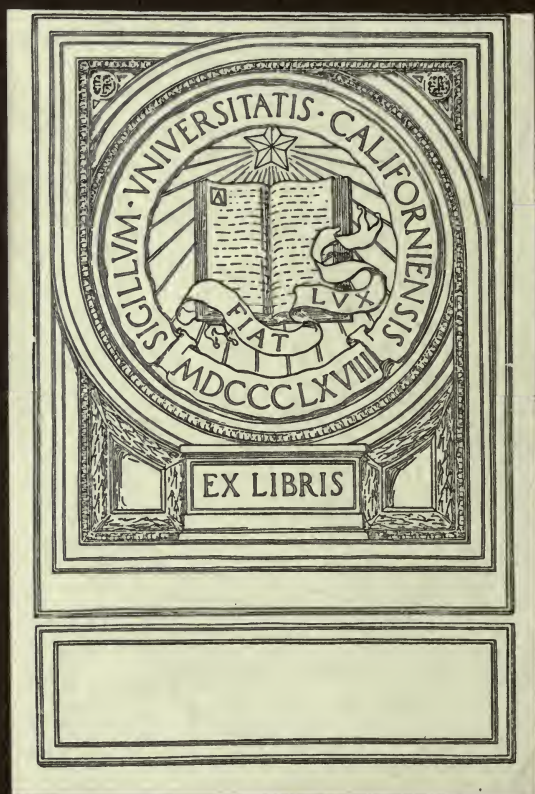


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# SOME FORERUNNERS OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI

BY

ELLEN SCOTT DAVISON, B. S., A. M.

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN THE  
FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE OF  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



1907



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# CONTENTS

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	PAGE
CHAPTER I	
INTRODUCTORY . . . . .	5
CHAPTER II	
APOSTOLIC SECTS ALLIED TO THE CATHARI . . . . .	16
CHAPTER III	
ARNOLD OF BRESCIA . . . . .	31
CHAPTER IV	
THE HUMILIATI . . . . .	55
	3





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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY

EARLY in the thirteenth century, there appeared almost simultaneously in different parts of southern Europe two men destined to influence the lives of multitudes: Dominic, a noble Spaniard and a scholar; Francis, son of a merchant in the little Italian town of Assisi, destitute of the learning of the schools. Both believed that, as disciples of Christ, they were bound to obey literally the commands of the Master: to teach; to help the suffering; to live, as Christ had told His Apostles to do, in utter poverty. Throngs of followers eager to spend their lives in apostolic poverty speedily gathered about both men.

Both Francis and Dominic were born leaders of men; but in no age can any man lead the masses except in paths toward which the age is tending. The movement, quickened by them into a world-force, was in its underlying principle and even in its details no new one. Apostles of primitive Christianity and of evangelical poverty had arisen in the church at various times, especially since the opening of the eleventh century; and a clear appreciation of these earlier movements, orthodox and heretical, is necessary to a full understanding of the origin and growth of the Mendicant orders.

Francis and Dominic remained devout sons of the Church; yet the basis of their action was essentially a protest against the existing condition of the ecclesiastical institution, which was far removed from the apostolic ideal. The history of Christianity presents a series of such movements; protests against the conformity of the Church as an institution with universal social and economic laws.

Early Christianity was an enthusiasm for an ideal, an attempt to regulate individual life according to the precepts and commands of Christ. Among His commands were several which,

if followed literally, would have barred effectually the development of any institution based on Christianity. When the young man who had great possessions asked Jesus what he should do to inherit eternal life, the answer was: "Sell that thou hast, and give to the poor." When Christ sent the Twelve forth to preach, He said to them: "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves." "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." These commands, literally obeyed, would have made of the men vowed to spend their lives in Christ's service a company of penniless wanderers. No institution has ever existed in a society based on property without holding property. Further, every community or individual that holds possessions must manage and defend them; yet Christ said: "Resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also."

Even during the life of Christ on earth there were signs that the little company of His followers was becoming an organized community. Christ had laid upon His disciples obligations which could not be fulfilled without resulting in definite and extensive organization. They were, for example, to take constant care of the weaker brethren, to teach and baptize all nations, to establish and maintain the cult of Christ throughout the world.<sup>1</sup>

The process by which the Church became an organized, property-holding institution is obscure, and cannot be traced here.<sup>2</sup> That it had already become such an institution before it was given a legal existence by Galerius and Constantine, their edicts bear witness.<sup>3</sup> The development of the institution

<sup>1</sup> Luke 10: 27 *seq.* Matth. 19: 21.

<sup>2</sup> The reader may be referred to Friedberg, *Kirchenrecht*, pp. 10 *seq.* (ed. 1895). A. V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions*, Chapters ii-viii.

<sup>3</sup> Edict of Galerius (311), Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, c. 34. Edict of Constantine (Milan, 313), Lactantius, *ibid.*, c. 48. Codex Theodosianus, lib. xvi (ed. Haenel). Boyd, *The Ecclesiastical Edicts in the Theodosian Code*, Columbia Univ., doctor's dissertation, 1904. For comment, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 21, pp. 132 *seq.* Ed. Bury, 1896.

along lines already marked out was stimulated by the new imperial policy. When the Church was sanctioned by the Empire it gained the opportunity for larger functions, and received endowments of land and of other wealth which made possible the performance of those functions.<sup>1</sup> The Church of the poor became the Church of the rich and powerful.

The Bishops had now two functions. They were shepherds of men, as Christ had commanded them to be; they were also administrators of wealth, an office forced into their hands by the inevitable logic of events.<sup>2</sup> Their secular obligations were destined to grow heavier in the age that followed. Before the time of Constantine the Empire's strength had been taxed to keep the barbarian invaders beyond her frontiers. Later, as province after province fell into the hands of Germanic chiefs, the civil organization of the Empire was shattered. In many districts the Bishops became the sole representatives of the old law and order. They had civic functions while the Rhine and the Danube still separated the Roman world from the barbarian. These functions were now expanded as the need for them grew greater.<sup>3</sup> Further, in the prevailing confusion the landed property of the Church increased. Barbarian kings were used to offer gifts to their gods, just as they sent presents to chieftains whose friendship they sought; converted to Christianity, they gave freely of their vast, new lands and of their treasure to the God who gave them victory.<sup>4</sup> Many estates fell into the hands of the Church because of this naïve faith; others by the working of more complex motives and forces. In Italy, Pepin asserted no claim to the lands which, at Pope Gregory's call, he had freed from the Lombards; and Charles the Great drew the southern boundary of his Kingdom of Lombardy somewhat

<sup>1</sup> Codex Theodosianus, lib. xvi, tit. 4. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* (ed. Bury, 1896), vol. ii, pp. 320 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* (ed. Bury, 1896), vol. ii, pp. 39-47, 53-54, 322 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. i, pp. 95 *seq.*; pp. 162 *seq.* Allard, *Le Christianisme et l'Empire Romain*, pp. 150 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Milman, *ibid.*, pp. 399 *seq.* Montalembert, *The Monks of the West*, vol. ii, pp. 123 *seq.*



north of Rome. The ancient capital of the world, with the surrounding territory, became the capital of the Church, the dominion of the Pope. The occupant of the chair of Peter the Fisherman became the possessor of an enormous patrimony.

Christ's apostles, commanded by Him to have "neither gold nor silver," to wander from city to city, teaching and baptizing, seeking no settled home, were succeeded by men who held and administered property in trust for the needs of the ecclesiastical community, and who wielded the power of secular potentates. The institution which had grown out of the religion of Christ was at variance with the commands of Christ. This contradiction of the ideal by the real did not escape the notice of idealists. From the beginning of the Church's triumph there were men whose lives were protests against the Church as an institution, and attempts to follow literally the most ascetic commands of Christ.

The triumph of the Church as an institution and the great extension of the Christian monastic movement were co-incident. The age of the great Christian Councils was the age of Jerome, prophet of monasticism,<sup>1</sup> and every further development of the Church as an institution has been accompanied by a reaction toward asceticism. The rule of Benedict of Nursia found numerous and enthusiastic adherents during the pontificate of Gregory I;<sup>2</sup> under Gregory VII, or during the fifty years following his death, were founded the order of Grammont, most rigid in discipline, the Carthusian brotherhood, the Premonstratensian order, and, by the great Bernard, the monastery of Clairvaux.<sup>3</sup> The age of Innocent III was the age of Dominic and of Francis of Assisi. Monasticism is, it is true, based on complex human motives, yet in the origin of many rapidly growing monastic bodies may be found, acting as a compelling force, this one motive: protest against the non-apostolic character of existing ecclesiastical institutions. Not that the men

<sup>1</sup> Milman, *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 115 *seq.* Milman, *ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 190 *seq.* (ed. 1892).

<sup>2</sup> Montalembert, *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 389 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Wurm, *Der heilige Bernard, passim.* Luchaire, *Manual des Institutions Françaises*, pp. 100 *seq.*

who first, by devotion to the apostolic life, furnished centres for these movements were all consciously led to do so by dissatisfaction with the Church's worldliness. Francis certainly was not influenced by this motive, but doubtless the rapid growth of his band of followers was due to the fact that many other men felt the need of a life strictly given to obeying these commands of Christ which lead to asceticism and the impossibility of such a life in the Church. It was this same need to which was due, in close succession, the growth of the various sects of heretical Apostolic Christians—the Arnoldists, the Humiliati, the Waldenses.<sup>1</sup>

However, monasticism, at first a protest against the institutional side of Christianity, became itself an institution. The noble works done by the monastic communities while their faith was young and the enthusiasm which had brought them into being was still undimmed, are too familiar to need reiteration. We can go with the early missionaries into Germany and Gaul, with Sturmi into the forest hard by "the fell Saxons," with Columban into Frisia, or Gall into Suabia;<sup>2</sup> all fugitives from the world, seeking a life of poverty, simplicity, and self-denial, combating paganism and the wilderness.<sup>3</sup> The rigors of the conflict forced upon these men and their devoted followers close and efficient organization. Their very virtues led to their undoing. Gifts to God brought salvation to the givers; and gifts to the monks were gifts to God. So secular responsibility increased, and with it power to command luxury. The growing institution of monasticism was already departing from the spirit of the first enthusiasts when the genius of Benedict of Nursia gave it definite shape in the Rule which seeks, while organizing the institution, to maintain for the individual something of literal obedience to Christ's command "Be ye poor."

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 50 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Montalembert, *ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 241, 292 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Montalembert, *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 30-47; vol. ii, pp. 185 *seq.* On the services of the monks to civilization see also Sommerlad, *Die wirtschaftliche Thätigkeit der Kirche im Mittelalter*, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> The Rule of Benedict has been edited many times. See, for instance, *Benedicti Regula Monachorum*, recensuit Eduardus Woelfflin (1895). See Montalembert, *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 389 *seq.*

But Benedict undertook what was impossible; he tried to combat by formal laws the inevitable sequence of events. Monastic communities became rich and powerful, luxurious and pleasure-loving.

Voices were, it is true, never lacking to demand that the monks be faithful to their original aims, and in truth in the eleventh century, monasticism alone among Christian institutions kept alive even the tradition of evangelical poverty.<sup>1</sup> Ecclesiastical offices were sought by men who coveted their revenues and paid scant attention to the duties which they involved.<sup>2</sup> Simony was rife.<sup>3</sup> The revenues of benefices were often increased in questionable ways. For example, Bishops and Abbots alike saw in the adoration of relics a means by which the wealth and influence of their churches might be increased, and they were not always scrupulous as to the means by which they obtained such relics. Sometimes prelates invented and circulated histories of the saints whose relics they possessed, exalting their merits and the miracle-working power of their bones, that pilgrims might be induced to visit their shrines in large numbers, and leave rich gifts behind them.<sup>4</sup>

Men who ruled vast lands had to become princes rather than shepherds if they were to keep their possessions. In times of political disorder, all owners of property must protect it by means more drastic than the imposition of penance, or even

<sup>1</sup> Dresdner, *Kultur- und Sittengeschichte der Italienischen Geistlichkeit im 10ten und 11ten Jahrhundert*, *passim*. Especially pp. 50 *seq.* De Wette, *Geschichte der Christlichen Sittenlehre*, *passim*. Delarc, *St. Gregoire et la reforme de l'Eglise*, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Gerohus Reichersbergensis, *De Investigatione Antichristi*, lib. i, c. 42. Ed. Scheibelberger, p. 88. For a diverting account of an Archbishop of Rheims who quite frankly found his duties a nuisance, see Guibertus Novigenti, *De Vita Sua*, lib. i, c. 11, ed. D'Achery, p. 467. He quotes the Archbishop, a certain Manasses,

"Bonus esset Remensis archiepiscopus si non missas inde cantari oporteret." The same prelate robbed the treasury (1084). See below, pp. 29 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See note 1.

<sup>4</sup> For various stories illustrating this point, see Guib. Nov., *De Pignoribus Sanctorum*, lib. i, cc. 2 and 3; lib. ii, c. 3, ed. D'Achery, pp. 334 *seq.* See also a satire on the zeal for relic hunting displayed by Pope Urban II, in Pflugk-Hartung, *Iter Italicum*, pp. 439 *seq.*



excommunication.<sup>1</sup> At all times when a foreign foe harried the land, Bishops and Abbots, like Counts and Dukes, had to arm themselves against the invaders.<sup>2</sup> Not only was defence necessary on the battle-field, but often in the courts. While some laymen gave gifts to the Church to secure rest for their souls, other laymen were always ready to seize Church property on any plausible pretext, or without a pretext.<sup>3</sup> It is not difficult, then, to understand the preoccupation of the higher clergy with secular affairs, and their consequent neglect of their spiritual functions. Bishops who had sought preferment in the Church for the sake of wealth and power, were almost of necessity engrossed in the material cares which wealth and power brought with them. They frequently did not labor to organize their dioceses, nor secure for their people an active and competent priesthood. It was then not only the prelates who became false to their apostolic commission; the lower clergy suffered also.

It is impossible to speak with certainty of the character of the lower clergy as a class in the period preceding the reform movement in the eleventh century. The literature of the time abounds with drastic criticism of the evil lives of the priests, and of their neglect of duty.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, there were doubtless God-fearing priests, laboring in obscurity, sincerely fulfilling their duty to their people, so far as their ability and

<sup>1</sup> Geroh. Reichersberg, *De Investigatione*, lib. i, c. 42. Peter Damian says an abbot could not be a monk, nor a bishop a priest. Opusc. 21, praef. opp. vol. iii, p. 455.

<sup>2</sup> See Hugo, *Destructio Farfense*, M. G. H. SS., vol. xi, pp. 532 seq. Also Ekkehard, Cas. S. Galli. M. G. H. SS., vol. ii, pp. 105-109. Also, for Monte Cassino, Desiderii, Abbat. Casinensi *Dialogi*, lib. i. Bibl. Max. Patr. Lugd., vol. xviii, pp. 339 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See Suger, *Gesta Ludovici regis cognomento grossi*, cc. 2, 23 (ed. Molinier, in *Collection des textes*), for accounts of attacks on ecclesiastical property in France in the early twelfth century. Seher, Abbot of Chamonzey in the diocese of Toul, tells of his struggle to keep his property. Seheri, *Primordia Calmosiacensia*, M. G. H. SS., vol. xii, pp. 324-347. The Canons of Lucca built a castle for defence against an aggressive layman. Muratori, *Antiquitates*, vol. iv, p. 733. See also Dresdner, *ibid.*, pp. 87 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Dresdner, *ibid.*, pp. 100 seq.



education allowed. History does not record the lives of inconspicuous, commonplace, good men, whether they be priests or laymen. Now and then a virtuous priest rose into notice because he was an eloquent preacher; but unless he possessed conspicuous gifts, a worthy priest lived and died and left no record. The lower clergy were drawn largely from the common people, and it was among the common people that religious enthusiasm never waned. Further, reform movements always found adherents among the common people and among the lower clergy.<sup>1</sup>

Yet it would seem that there was ample justification for the abuse heaped upon the priests. How could it be otherwise? Little effort seems to have been made by the bishops to secure the proper preparation of priests for holy office, or to limit ordination and installation to men of God-fearing lives; nor was episcopal supervision always directed to securing faithfulness to duty. The Bishop who had paid a high price for his benefice exacted payment in his turn for the humbler offices in his gift. Too often a priest was chosen because he could pay for his appointment, not because he was fit to have the cure of souls. There is, then, ample evidence that many of the clergy were ignorant, neglectful, sinful; that churches were allowed to fall into ruins, while their priests took the tithes, sometimes sold the very vessels from the altars, and did not cumber themselves with the cure of souls.<sup>2</sup> It is true that it cannot always have been possible to secure competent priests; educational facilities were scanty in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is on the other hand undeniable that most bishops were too busy with the cares of state and wealth to make the attempt.

There is little material for judging what the layman desired of his priest. The clearest light is thrown on the subject by a study of the enthusiasts who easily gained a following. Within the Church itself, the source of the prevailing evils was often

<sup>1</sup> Dresdner, *ibid.*, pp. 169 *seq.* Note Arialdus in Milan, see below. Also Arnold, see below.

<sup>2</sup> Dresdner, *ibid.*, pp. 100 *seq.* S. Bernard, *De consideratione*, lib. iv, c. 2. Ed. Mabillon, vol. i, cc. 436 *seq.*

declared to be the possession of wealth. The Church had always praised poverty; but generally the eulogies refer to individual poverty coupled with communistic possession, which did not exclude individual enjoyment.<sup>1</sup> The inconsistency between the actual wealth of the clergy and their theoretical poverty was not lost upon thoughtful and conscientious churchmen. "We seek," says Abelard, "to be made richer as monks than we were in the world."<sup>2</sup> Gerohus, of Reichersberg, laments: "The Bishops claim that the evangelical perfection in which Peter gloried, saying to the Lord, 'Behold, we leave all and follow Thee,' and of which the Lord said, 'Unless a man has given up all that he possesses, he cannot be my disciple,' that this perfection pertains to the monks alone, and not to the secular clergy."<sup>3</sup> By these men, members of the clergy were criticized because they appropriated to unwarranted uses the wealth of the Church, or because they, as individuals, possessed property. The tendency to such criticism increased during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>4</sup> On the one hand, reformers protested against the individual possession of wealth by the clergy, and the misuse of property held in common; on the other, there arose a more radical conception of evangelical poverty, which excluded even communistic possession by the clergy, and in some instances by the laity as well. An investi-

<sup>1</sup> S. Bernard, *l. c.* *Sermo: In Solemnitate Omnium Sanctorum, Igniacensis S. Bernardi Discipulis*, *ibid.*, vol. ii, cc. 1043-1044.

<sup>2</sup> Abelard, *De Sancto Joanne Baptista Sermo*. Opera, ed. Cousin, vol. i, p. 572.

<sup>3</sup> Geroh. Reichersbergensis, *De Investigatione Antichristi*, lib. i, c. 43. *Ibid.*, p. 90. Cf. the practical protest against the wealth of the clergy by Arialdu of Milan. See *Vita Arialdi*, AA. SS. Boll. V Junii, p. 282, and below, p. 32. Cf. also St. Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, to 1127, who gave all his wealth to the poor and travelled about barefoot, preaching. *Vita S. Norberti*, M. G. H. SS., vol. xii, p. 673. See also p. 8 above. The founder of the Chartreuse fled to the desert in disgust at the luxurious lives of the clergy of Rheims, and their misuse of ecclesiastical property. See Guibertus Novigenti, *De Vita Sua*, lib. i, c. 11, ed. D'Achery, p. 467.

<sup>4</sup> Note, for instance, many passages in the sermons of Berthold von Regensburg; for example, ed. Pfeiffer-Strohl, pp. 93 *seq.* and 393-4; also Guibert. Novigenti, *l. c.*; also Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, c. 5 (ed. 1596, pp. 272 *seq.*); also Desiderius, *De Miraculis S. Benedicti*, in *Bibl. Max. Patrum*. Lugd., vol. xviii, pp. 839 *seq.*; also John of Salisbury, *Polyeraticus*, bk. iv, cc. 2-5.

gation and analysis of this enthusiasm for evangelical poverty is the precise subject of this essay.

We cannot know to what degree this tendency to emphasize poverty as an integral part of Christianity was due to a realization that wealth was corrupting the Church; to the contrast between the simple life and the privations of Christ and the Apostles, and the magnificence and luxury which surrounded the clergy. As this study proceeds, however, an effort will be made to explain the conditions under which each reformer began his work, and it will become apparent in some cases that there was certainly present an element of direct reaction against the unapostolic character of the lives of the clergy and the magnificent ceremonial of the Church.

Efforts to restore primitive Christianity, to follow literally the commands of Christ and the teaching of the Apostles in daily life and in religious observance were very numerous in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The conceptions men formed of the essence of Apostolic Christianity varied widely. The fundamental motive of all was the same: they would live as Christ taught men to live; they would conform their worship to that of the little group of believers who first followed Him in far-away Palestine. Arialdus and Waldo, Arnold and Francis,<sup>1</sup> agreed in basing the apostolic life on evangelical poverty. But Waldo wished to sweep away all doctrines, all religious observances, which were not found in the Church of the apostolic age; Arnold believed that the vicar of Christ should not be a secular prince, and assailed the whole vast fabric of the temporal power of the Church; Arialdus tried to purge the Church of simony, to teach the priests to lead pure lives; Francis saw clearly his own duty—to be poor, as Christ had commanded, to help suffering humanity, while he upheld the Church as an institution).

Moreover, in these two centuries, a great tide of religious enthusiasm swept over the nations of western Europe. The eleventh century was the age of the Cluniac Reform, of the

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 32, 33 *seq.*



foundation of Cistercian and Carthusian orders, of the first great Crusade. The twelfth century brought to light many new enthusiasts, most of whom the Church counted as heretics. These men were in most cases reformers as truly as were Norbert and St. Bernard! The leaders among them spoke in Christ's name, and voiced Christ's commands. The multitude followed, and found itself outside the Church which claimed to be the fold of Christ. They did not plan heresy; they, in many instances, thought themselves champions of the Church. Waldo, like Francis, asked the Pope to sanction his work, to authorize him to help the Church in teaching the people to follow Christ. Orthodox and heretical reformers were alike products of the religious enthusiasm of the age, and sought to restore apostolic Christianity. All found a following. Wherever a man appeared who possessed enthusiasm and brought a message, the people flocked to hear him. When he told his hearers what Christ had commanded them to do, some among them were always ready to obey the command.

The Church finally awoke to these facts. The Papal Curia was convinced that if the dangerous growth of heresy were to be checked the Church must appeal to the people through the enthusiasm for primitive Christianity and evangelical poverty, which was carrying thousands into the ranks of heresy. Then began a consistent effort to enlist under the banner of the Church apostles of primitive Christianity,<sup>1</sup> and of these apostles St. Francis is the chief in beauty of life, in power over the masses, in influence upon the age. Of that age he is a true child, and a study of the primitive Christians who preceded him may throw some light upon the movement he inspired.

<sup>1</sup> For attempts of the Curia to secure the adherence of the Humiliati and the branch of the Waldenses known as the Poor Catholics, see below. Note also the significant story of Diego of Osna and St. Dominic, who found themselves utterly unsuccessful in combating heresy until they, like the heretical preachers, stood before the people in the guise of simplicity and poverty. See Guillelmis de Podio Laurentii, *Historia Albigensium*, c. 8 (Ann. 1206). Bouquet, vol. xix, p. 200.

## CHAPTER II

### APOSTOLIC SECTS ALLIED TO THE CATHARI.

THE Cathari were the arch-heretics of the Middle Ages; they are best known to the general student of European history through the successful attempt of Simon de Montfort to exterminate the powerful community of them known as the Albigenses. Their belief was a form of dualism, and they were manifestations of the great Manichaeian movement which seems to have traveled from the East, perhaps originally from Persia, westward into the African and European provinces of the Roman Empire.<sup>1</sup>

The first great wave of Manichaeism swept over southern Europe in the fourth and fifth centuries. The Emperor Valentinian discovered it in Italy, and in 372 found it necessary to forbid the meetings of Manichaeans.<sup>2</sup> Later emperors issued stringent decrees against these heretics. Their belief was declared to be a public crime, and ferocious laws were enacted to secure the extermination of the faith and of its adherents.<sup>3</sup> In spite, however, of all the proceedings against the Manichaeans their number grew. About the middle of the fifth century Pope Leo the Great discovered an alarmingly strong community of them in Rome. He preached against them, and caused them to be condemned by a synod and banished by the Senate. For the time the movement was checked in Rome.<sup>4</sup>

The efforts of Leo resulted not in exterminating the heretics,

<sup>1</sup> C. Schmidt, *Histoire des Cathares*, vol. i, pp. 1-8, and authorities there cited. Cf. *Real Encyclopaedie*, vol. xiii, p. 762.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Theod., lib. xvi, tit. 5, l. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Theodosius the Great, in 381, 382, 389. *Ibid.*, tit. 5, l. 7, 9, 18. Honorius, in 399, 405, 408. *Ibid.*, l. 33, 40, 43. Theodosius II, in 423, 425, 428. *Ibid.*, l. 59, 62, 65.

<sup>4</sup> C. Schmidt, *ibid.*, p. 17.

but in dispersing them, to form elsewhere centres for the promulgation of their doctrine. Effective persecution was then, and for a long time afterward, impossible to the Popes; the organization of judicial machinery for the extirpation of heresy was not to be achieved for some centuries.

It is then not strange that Manichaeans were discovered at Ravenna in 550 and at Rome by various Popes between Leo I and Gregory I. The latter made earnest efforts to root out the heresy; he issued emphatic commands to Bishops in whose dioceses it was known to exist, adjuring them to exterminate it.<sup>1</sup>

For more than four hundred years after Gregory's death there is no evidence of the existence of the dualistic heresy in Europe. It must, however, have existed and grown below the surface of society, for early in the eleventh century it was so formidable as to invite persecution in northern Italy and southern France.<sup>2</sup> Beginning with the year 1012 there are various accounts of the discovery of dualists and of edicts against them.<sup>3</sup>

The tenets which attracted the attention of the clergy were: denial of the efficacy of the Mass, of the baptism of infants, and of the intercession of saints; and refusal to venerate the Cross. When their manner of life was questioned, it was found that they considered marriage sinful, and that they would not use as food milk, nor anything made from it, because of the connection of milk with the function of generation. By these signs the Manichaeans were always recognized. They were called by various names during the centuries in which this form of belief was to the Church an ever present and malignant foe; but whether known as Manichaeans, Cathari, or mem-

<sup>1</sup> For all this early movement, see C. Schmidt, *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 1-18.

<sup>2</sup> See Schmidt, *ibid.*, pp. 24 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Schmidt, *ibid.*, pp. 24 *seq.* Among the accounts are: for Limoges (1012), Ademari *Historiarum libri III*, lib. iii, c. 69. M. G. H. SS., vol. iv, p. 148. The same source furnishes accounts of the discovery of Manichaeans, at Arles (*ibid.*, p. 143), and at Toulouse, *l. c.* For further account of the heresy in Arles, see Radulfi Glabri, *Historiarum libri V*, lib. iii, c. 8. Bouquet, vol. x, p. 35. The Synod of St. Carroux in Vienne (1028) took action against the heretics. Concilium Karro-fense, Mansi, vol. xix, c. 485. The synod held at Arras in 1025 also took action concerning them. Mansi, vol. xix, cc. 423 *seq.*



bers of the great Albigenian organization, such adherents of the dualistic Philosophy were probably never entirely eliminated from mediæval Europe.

The form of dualism which was most prevalent recognized "two co-equal principles, God and Satan, of whom the former created the invisible, spiritual, and eternal universe, the latter the material and temporal, which he governs. Satan is the Jehovah of the Old Testament; the prophets and patriarchs are robbers, and, consequently, all Scripture anterior to the Gospels is to be rejected. The New Testament, however, is Holy Writ, but Christ was not a man, but a phantasm—the Son of God who appeared to be born of the Virgin Mary and came from Heaven to overthrow the worship of Satan."<sup>1</sup> "The Church was the synagogue of Satan, and all its rites were futile or worse than futile. Asceticism and the prohibition of marriage were logical consequences of a belief which recognized the body as the handiwork and servant of Satan, hampering and striving to ruin the soul, the child of God."<sup>2</sup>

The Church having been repudiated, the dualists formed their own organization, their own hierarchy. They themselves, forming the Church of Christ, had, they believed, the power to "bind and loose," to reconcile the sinner with God, which had been given by Christ to the Apostles, and was the basis of the power of the Church over the people. Admission to their sect was conferred through the *Consolamentum*, or laying on of hands, by which sin was wiped out and the Holy Spirit entered into the aspirant.<sup>3</sup>

It is, however, the concrete facts of the lives of these people together with their opposition to the Church, which are formulated and discussed by persecutors and writers against heresy. The philosophy on which their system was based is often not alluded to at all. Perhaps the subtleties of the doctrine were not understood by the great body of the Cathari. So philosophical and intellectual a creed as the Catharan version of

<sup>1</sup> Lea, *Inquisition*, vol. i, pp. 24 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Lea, *ibid.*, pp. 93 seq. Cf. *Real Encyclopaedie*, vol. xiii, pp. 762 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Lea, *ibid.*, pp. 93 seq. Cf. Schmidt, *l. c.*



dualism could hardly have won converts in numbers sufficient to enable Catharism to supplant the Church in southern France and to weaken it seriously elsewhere. Probably the Catharan preachers who sought converts emphasized the asceticism which grew out of their creed and drew a contrast with the worldliness of the clergy. Condemnation of the clergy was a not unpopular pose in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the Cathari explicitly and implicitly attacked the clergy. Exhortation to simple, pure lives, such as Christ enjoined upon the first Christians, aroused popular enthusiasm. As will be shown later,<sup>1</sup> appeals to the people were made by some dualists on grounds similar to those of Arnold, of Waldo, of Francis; that the perfect life consists in literal obedience to the commands of Christ; that their own duty lay in an attempt to revive the primitive Church.

So some of the Cathari, or of enthusiasts who were affiliated with them, fall within the scope of this essay, though the great Catharan movement as a whole lies outside it. The line between the Catharan sects and other heretical bodies is not always easy to draw, because, as has been said, the dualistic basis of their belief is not always formulated. Popular preachers now and then arose whose doctrines savored of Catharism so strongly in their tangible characteristics that it seems impossible they can have sprung from any other root than that of dualism. Such leaders were Peter of Bruys and his co-worker Henry of Lausanne. These men preached mainly in southern France, between 1106 and 1134, where, as has been shown, Catharism had been discovered and condemned a century before.<sup>2</sup> It had meantime, working under the surface, grown in strength.<sup>3</sup> It was only to be exterminated a century and a half later by a bloody war.

Peter and Henry were unquestionably Cathari, but they appealed to the people who thronged to hear them on grounds far more tangible—they preached apostolic Christianity. "They say in their sermons that Christ sent his apostles forth to preach,

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 22 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Schmidt, *ibid.*, p. 28.

for he says in the Gospel: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. Whosoever shall believe you and be baptized shall be saved; but whosoever shall not believe you shall be condemned.'"<sup>1</sup>

The conditions under which Peter of Bruys began his mission are unknown, beyond the fact that he was convinced he was following Christ because Christ laid commands upon him as he had done upon the twelve.<sup>2</sup> Like many another apostle of the Middle Ages, he comes suddenly into the light of history, plays for a brief space a stormy part, fleeing hither and thither before persecution, and does not cease to cry out his message until he is silenced in the fierce glare of a martyr's pyre (1126).<sup>3</sup> Henry of Lausanne seems to have been aroused by Peter's preaching. Like Peter, he was persecuted. His life ended not at the stake but in prison.<sup>4</sup>

The teaching of the two men was the same in all essentials. There are several statements, contemporary or nearly so, of their doctrines. Their principal tenets are these: they denied the efficacy of infant baptism because Christ said, "Believe and be baptized," and a child cannot believe; Christ's body and blood are not offered in the Sacrament, nor did God command that the Sacrament be celebrated; all sacrifices and prayers for the dead avail nothing; churches and altars are unnecessary, for prayer before a stable is as efficacious as that before an altar. Further, they did not venerate the cross, but execrated it as the symbol of Christ's torture.<sup>5</sup> Except that the baptism of adults is not expressly denounced, these doctrines are Catharan. They result in pruning away many rites of the Church of post-apos-

<sup>1</sup> Petri Venerabilis, *Tractatus adv. Petrobrusianos Haereticos*, B. M. P. Lugd., vol. xxii, p. 1036.

<sup>2</sup> Lea, *ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Petri Venerabilis *Tractatus adv. Petrobrusianos Haereticos*, B. M. P. Lugd., vol. xxii, pp. 1033 *seq.* See also Lea, *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 68. St. Bernardi, *Epistolae*, 241, 242. Opera, vol. i, pp. 237-239.

<sup>4</sup> *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis*. De Hildeberto (Bishop in 1097). In Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, pp. 315 *seq.* (ed. 1723). Bouquet, vol. xii, p. 547. *Chronica Alberici Monachi Trium Fontium*. M. G. H. SS., vol. xxiii, pp. 840 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> Petr., Ven., l. c. *Act. Pont. Cen.*, l. c.

toloc origin. There is scant positive evidence to show whether this return to apostolic conditions was conscious. There is, however, presumptive evidence for the conclusion that these heresiarchs had compared the existing Church with the early Christian community and were trying to do away with the rites and doctrines instituted after the close of the Apostolic Age, and to conform the clergy to the model established by Christ. For the heresiarchs were evidently convinced that they themselves were apostles of Christ, preaching because He had commanded his apostles to preach, and their doctrine of baptism was founded on Christ's words. In no other case have their arguments in support of a tenet been directly reported.

There is fuller evidence of the apostolic character of a body of heretics discovered at Cologne between 1144 and 1147; and these were apparently Petrobrusian.<sup>1</sup> They were found about twenty years after the martyrdom of Peter, while Henry was dying in prison at Rheims, by Everwin, Provost of Steinfeld, who wrote an account of them to St. Bernard, and begged the great Crusader to preach against them.<sup>2</sup> St. Bernard acceded to Everwin's request, and attacked the heretics in question in two sermons.<sup>3</sup> These sermons follow closely the account furnished by Everwin, and therefore give little additional information about the heretics of Cologne. The important source is then the letter of Everwin. His account reads like an expansion of Peter the Venerable's digest of the Petrobrusian heresy.

The heretics of Cologne, like Peter and Henry, rejected

<sup>1</sup> *Real Encyclopaedie*, vol. i, pp. 701 seq. *Kirchen Lexicon*, vol. i, p. 1142. Lea, *Inquisition*, vol. i, pp. 68-72. Tocco, *l'Eresia nel medio evo*, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Evervini Steinfeldensis Praepositis, *Epistola ad S. Bernardum abbatem, De Haereticis sui temporis*. In Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, p. 473 (ed. 1723). Hüffer, in *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, for 1889, p. 765, note 4, says that the trial of these heretics cannot have been earlier than 1147, because the letter suggests a personal acquaintance between Everwin and Bernard hardly likely to have been formed before the latter's journey to Germany in 1147. Cf. Wurm, *Der Heilige Bernard*, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> S. Bernardi, *Sermones In Cantica*, nos. 65 and 66. *Opera Omnia* (ed. Mabillon, 1690), vol. i, cc. 1490 seq.





infant baptism, and for the same reason. They condemned entirely all the sacraments except baptism. They were convinced that the Church had lost its primitive character, and had thus ceased to be the Church of Christ. "They say that all the priests of the Church are not consecrated; for the apostolic dignity, so they say, has been corrupted because the clergy have been involved in secular business. He who sits in the chair of Peter is no soldier of God like Peter, and has deprived himself of the power which Peter had in so great a degree, and he has it not at all. The Archbishops and Bishops who in the Church lead secular lives do not receive from the Pope power to consecrate others. This belief they base on the words of Christ, 'the Scribes and Pharisees sit in the seat of Moses.'" "They do not believe in prayers for the dead; they hold that fasts and other methods of mortifying the flesh imposed for sin are unnecessary for the just and even for sinners. For 'in whatsoever day a sinner shall repent, all his sins shall be remitted unto Him.' All the observances of the Church which were not founded by Christ and the Apostles in direct succession from Him they call superstitions. They do not admit that there is Purgatorial fire after death; but hold that the souls of men when they go forth from the body pass at once either into eternal rest or everlasting punishment. So they count as of no avail prayers and offerings of the faithful for the dead."<sup>2</sup> Further, they deny that the body of Christ is made on the altar.

So far their doctrine is quite clearly the result of a desire to restore the simplicity and purity of the primitive Church—they were then apostolic heretics. They show also traces of Catharism: for "they call all marriage fornication unless it be contracted between two virgins, man and woman. They derive this doctrine from the words of Christ, with which he answered

<sup>1</sup> Evervini, *Ep. ad S. Bern.*, *ibid.*, p. 474. Cf. this attack upon the worldly clergy with the accounts of the effect of Henry's preaching at Le Mans: "Qua haeresi plebs in clerum versa est in furorem, adeo quod famulis eorum minarentur cruciatus, nec eis aliquid vendere, vel ab eis emere voluissent; immo habebant eos sicut ethnicos et publicanos etc." *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis*. In Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Evervini, *ibid.*, p. 474.

the pharisees: Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder."<sup>1</sup> They were not strict Cathari, or they would not have sanctioned marriage under any conditions. Moreover, they cited the Old Testament in proof of their doctrine of immediate reward or punishment after death;<sup>2</sup> and the Cathari usually rejected the Old Testament altogether. So far as Everwin's information went, they had no hierarchy. "They hold our Pope of no account," he says, "but they do not say that they have any other besides him;"<sup>3</sup> and the Cathari had their own hierarchy. Nevertheless, the heretics of Cologne must be counted among the sects which were allied with the Cathari, and probably owed their origin to Peter of Bruys.<sup>4</sup> It was, however, through their attempt to restore the apostolic Church that they gained their hold on the popular imagination.

Contemporary with these last reformers were others, who called themselves "Apostolics." They, too, were discovered at Cologne by Everwin. He, in describing the new heretics, who he says had everywhere "boiled up from the depth of hell,"<sup>5</sup> distinguishes two classes "detected through their mutual disagreement and contention." One class has already been discussed; the second, according to Everwin, disagree with these altogether. This is perhaps too strong a statement, but the Apostolics are more clearly Catharan than the other heretics described by Everwin. "They said in their own defense that

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Evervini, *l. c.*

<sup>2</sup> Purgatorium ignem post mortem non concedunt: sed animas statim, quando egrediuntur, de corpore in aeternam vel requiem vel poenam transire propter illa Salamonis, "Lignum in quamcumque partem ceciderit, sive ad Austrum, sive ad Aquilonem, ibi manebit," *l. c.*

<sup>3</sup> *L. c.*

<sup>4</sup> It is, however, possible that the doctrine of Tanchelm may have spread to Cologne and aided in the formation of these sects. Tanchelm was a layman of Antwerp, who denied the ability of sinful priests to administer the sacraments, and said that any good man might administer them; that his followers were the church; that tithes should not be given to the clergy, etc. See Tocco, *ibid.*, pp. 157 *seq.* *Epistola Trajectensis Ecclesiae ad Federicum Archiepiscopum Coloniensem* (1112). In D'Argentré, *Coll. Jud.*, vol. i, p. 11. *Vita Norberti*, c. 16. M. G. H. SS., vol. xii, pp. 690-691.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. Evervini, *ibid.*, p. 474.

this heresy had existed secretly from the time of the martyrs to our own day, and had persisted in Greece and some other lands.”<sup>1</sup> As has been said, this tradition of antiquity and of eastern origin is common to all Catharan sects.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever the remote origin of their philosophy may have been, however, the Apostolics of Cologne, like Arnold and Waldo, were inspired by the contrast between the Roman hierarchy and the primitive Church to make an effort after reform. “You,” they told Everwin, “add house to house and field to field. You seek your own and the things of this world. Even those who are held most perfect among you, the monks and the regular canons, though they do not hold property as individuals, but possess it in common, yet have all things. . . . You love this world and are at peace with this world because you are of this world. . . . Christ possessed nothing and allowed His disciples to possess nothing. . . . They say they are the Church because they alone walk in the footsteps of Christ and follow truly the apostolic life. They seek not the things which are of this world; they possess nothing, neither house nor lands nor any money, just as Christ possessed nothing and allowed His disciples to possess nothing. . . . We, they say, are poor men of Christ, having no permanent abiding place, fleeing from city to city; like sheep in the midst of wolves, we suffer persecution<sup>3</sup> with the apostles and martyrs. Yet we lead a life holy and very strict, persisting in fasting and abstinence, in prayers and labors day and night, seeking only the necessities of life from our followers.<sup>4</sup> All these things we bear because we are not of this world. Pseudo-apostles have misinterpreted the word of Christ, and have sought their own, and have made you and your fathers proud and worldly. We and our fathers are born

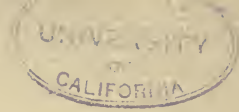
<sup>1</sup> Cf. St. Bernard, “Nec enim in cunctis assertionibus eorum (nam multae sunt), novum quid aut inauditum audisse me recole, sed quod tritum est, et diu ventilatum inter antiquos haereticos, a nostris autem contritum et eventilatum.” *Serm. In Cantica*, 65, par. 8. Opera, ed. Mabillon, vol. i, cc. 1493.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 16.

<sup>3</sup> There is no record of this persecution, unless it be the effort to extirpate Catharism in France, to which reference has been made above.

<sup>4</sup> “Tantum necessaria ex eis vitae quaerentes,” *l. c.*





of the apostles. We have remained in the grace of Christ, and we will so remain until the end of the world. To separate you from us, Christ said: By their fruits ye shall know them. Our fruits are the foot-prints of Christ."<sup>1</sup>

One of their tenets then was evangelical poverty—literal destitution, according to the command given by Christ to His disciples. They not only believed that they were bound to live in utter poverty; they carried the doctrine to its logical conclusion: a hierarchy which did not obey literally this command given by Christ to the group of men from whom that hierarchy claimed to derive its authority, was not the Church of Christ at all. They made then the deduction which Arnold and Waldo made, and which Francis never made. Repudiating the Church of Rome, they had organized a church of their own.

They did not copy the simple democracy of the early Church. They seem to have had no doubt that Christ founded a hierarchy not dissimilar to that of the debased Roman Church; that He instituted sacraments of which Baptism and the Mass as administered by that Church were a travesty. "They have their own Pope," says Everwin;<sup>2</sup> "one of those captured was a Bishop,"<sup>3</sup> and there were among them simple hearers (*auditores*), "who may, by receiving the laying on of hands, become believers (*credentes*)."<sup>4</sup> This sounds like the Catharan organization.

As to the sacraments, Everwin believed that they accepted adult baptism, and that they were given to consecrating their food and drink, in obedience to the words of Christ at the Last Supper. Their attitude toward baptism cannot, however, be exactly determined. Whether they really did believe in adult baptism, or whether Everwin was led by their purposely equivocal statements to think that they did, one thing is certain: full membership in their sect was conferred by the laying on of hands. This rite, they claimed, was instituted by Christ. It

<sup>1</sup> Evervini, *ibid.*, p. 473.

<sup>2</sup> Evervini, *ibid.*, p. 474.

<sup>3</sup> Evervini, *ibid.*, p. 473.

<sup>4</sup> Evervini, *ibid.*, p. 474. Cf. St. Bernardi, *Serm. In Cantica*, no. 65, *ibid.*, c.



was that "baptism with the Holy Ghost and with fire" which John the Baptist promised would be given by the One mightier than he who was to come after him. In the baptism of Paul, according to Luke's account, no water was used; and "whatever is found in the Acts of the Apostles about the laying on of hands, they would apply to this baptism."<sup>1</sup> This ceremony is characteristically Catharan.

Like the Cathari, the Apostolics were accustomed to consecrate all food and drink at their daily meals, following the custom of Christ and the Apostles. The consecration was effected by means of the Lord's Prayer, as was the custom of many Cathari. The food and drink were consecrated "*in corpus Christi et sanguinem*," and the Apostolics believed "*ut inde se membra et corpus Christi nutriant*."<sup>2</sup> These statements may indicate belief in transubstantiation. If this be true, then the Apostolics were not genuine Cathari; for the Cathari believed that Christ "was not a man, but a phantasm."<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Everwin may have given undue significance, drawn from the doctrines in which he himself believed, to a rite very simple, really apostolic, which he was incapable of understanding.

True Cathari these men may or may not have been, but Apostolics they clearly were. For they founded their customs on their literal interpretation of the commands of Christ and the usage of the apostles. They may have been Cathari who differed from the body of their brethren in their effort to restore primitive Christianity through evangelical poverty. All branches of the sect believed that they were of apostolic origin and char-

<sup>1</sup> *L. c.* The question of their belief in adult baptism, like that regarding the acceptance of the doctrine of transubstantiation, concerns inquirers who would establish their relation with the Catharan movement. This essay is concerned with the relation of the Apostolics of Cologne with the movement to revive primitive Christianity and apostolic poverty.

<sup>2</sup> *L. c.*

<sup>3</sup> See above. There is ground for assuming that Everwin thought the Apostolics did believe in transubstantiation; for, after describing them, he turns to his "other heretics" with the words: "Omnino ab istis discordantes. . . . Isti negant in altari fieri corpus Christi eo quod omnes sacerdotes ecclesiae non sunt consecrati." *L. c.*

acter, and that the Papacy had lost the apostolic spirit and power which it once possessed. This loss they connected with the false Donation of Constantine the Great, by which, according to mediæval belief, temporal power over Italy was conferred upon Pope Sylvester. The Cathari believed that the Church was perverted by the possession of temporal wealth and power, and ceased from that time to be the Church of Christ, "and they say that the blessed Sylvester was Antichrist."<sup>1</sup>

This belief in their own apostolic character might easily be emphasized in the minds of some members of the Catharan body and develop into the strictly apostolic doctrine of the heretics of Cologne.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, a company of men who set out independently to lead a life conformed to the usages of the apostolic Church might find in the Catharan belief in their own apostolic origin a common ground on which to meet. Indeed, in districts permeated by Catharism,<sup>3</sup> as much of western Europe seems to have been at this time, such men would be drawn both by the logic of their reasoning and by the pressure of events toward the Catharan organization.

On the whole, however, the Apostolics of Cologne are most easily accounted for on the assumption that they were a branch of the Cathari, and had, in accordance with the spirit of the age, become enthusiasts for evangelical poverty, without severing their connection with the great body of the Dualists. Several circumstances point to this conclusion. They do not speak of a heresiarch, and usually a sect begins with adherence to a leader. They refer to persecutions endured; and no such persecution is known to have taken place, beyond the attempts to put down Catharism, and the proceedings against Peter of

<sup>1</sup> Evverini, *l. c.* For a more detailed account of the Sylvester legend, and the influence of the Donation of Constantine on heresy in mediæval Europe, see Comba, *Histoire des Vaudois*, pp. 77 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> This is the theory of Tocco. See *L'Eresia nel medio evo*, p. 163. There are no detailed treatises on the Apostolics, and it is therefore impossible to refer to secondary authorities on points which lie outside the scope of this essay.

<sup>3</sup> On Catharism in Cologne, see Schmidt, *ibid.*, pp. 94 *seq.* Also *Annales Colonienses Maximi* (Anno 1163), M. G. H. SS., vol. xvii p. 778, for account of influx of Cathari from Flanders.

Bruys and Henry of Lausanne and their followers.<sup>1</sup> Whatever their origin, they had Catharan beliefs, and they were, as they called themselves, Apostolics.

They also knew how to die. "They were seized against our will by an over-zealous populace," says Everwin, "and put upon the fire and burned. What is more marvellous, they entered the fire and bore the torture not only with patience but with joy. Whence," he naively inquires, "do these children of the devil obtain a steadfastness in their heresy such as is scarcely found in believers in the faith of Christ!"<sup>2</sup>

There is no possibility of estimating the influence and the diffusion of the Apostolics. Their own statement that "they have a great multitude, scattered almost everywhere throughout the world," may refer to the Cathari in general. Heretics were discovered at Trèves in 1122,<sup>3</sup> at Toul in 1130,<sup>4</sup> and in Champagne in 1144.<sup>5</sup> In all these cases, they were apparently Cathari. There is no real evidence that they were Apostolics.<sup>6</sup> St. Bernard seems to have heard of other persecutions of the Apostolics besides those of which Everwin wrote; but his statement is far too vague to serve as evidence.<sup>7</sup>

That there is no record of any discovery of Apostolic heretics in Germany from the time of Everwin to the days of the Walden-

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 20 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *L. c.*

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta Treverorum Episcoporum*, M. G. H. SS., vol. viii, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> *Epistolae Hugonis Metelli*; *Sacrae Antiquitatis Monumenta*; in oppido Sancti Deodati (1731), ep. 15, vol. ii, p. 347.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Ecclesiae Leodiensis ad Lucium Papam II*, Martène et Durand, A. C. I., p. 777.

<sup>6</sup> Of the heretics of Toul, Hugo writes: "Pestilentes homines, qui veriori nomine, bestiae appellari possunt, quae bestialiter vivunt. Conjugium enim detestantur, baptismum abominantur, sacramenta Ecclesiae dirident, nomen Christianum abhorrent," *l. c.* Cf. accounts for Treves and Laon.

<sup>7</sup> "Quaesiti fidem, cum de quibus suspecti videbantur, omnia prorsus suo more negarent; examinati iudicio aquae, mendaces inventi sunt. Cumque negare non possent, quippe deprehensi, aqua eos non recipiente, arrepto, ut dicitur, freno dentibus, tam misere, quam libere impietatem non confessi, sed professi sunt, palam pietatem adstruentes, et pro ea mortem subire parati. Nec minus parati inferre qui adstabant. Itaque irruens in eos populus, novos haereticis suae ipsorum perfidiae martyres dedit." *Serm. In Cantica*, 66, par. 12. *Ibid.*, c. 1499.



sian movement is no proof that such heretics did not exist there. The great prelates of the Rhine valley were absorbed in the struggle which was vital to their wealth and power<sup>1</sup>—the strife to determine the relations of Church to Empire. They were probably not over-zealous in the pursuit of heresy. Moreover, detection of the Apostolics might well be difficult; for those discovered by Everwin partook of the Sacraments of the Church, and so for a time escaped notice.<sup>2</sup> The secret growth of the sect in the twelfth century is the more probable because the Church had, as yet, no organized system for ferreting out heresy. The fact that the Apostolics are not mentioned by name in the great works on heresy written in the twelfth century: those of Bonacursus,<sup>3</sup> and Moneta,<sup>4</sup> for example, does not prove that the sect ceased to exist. The Apostolics might easily seem indistinguishable from other Cathari on the one hand, or from the Waldenses on the other. The same reasoning applies to the absence of the name Apostolics from the Papal and Imperial edicts against heresy, issued in the latter part of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth.

Though there is no proof that the Apostolics maintained themselves and diffused the "poison of their doctrine," it seems probable that they did so, for the district "infected with their heresy" was to be a fertile ground for Waldensianism forty years later; and the practical teaching of the Apostolics was identical with that of Waldo. In only one other locality did the preaching of Waldo gain so quickly a large following, and that was in Lombardy, where Arnold and the Humiliati had aroused an enthusiasm for primitive Christianity and evangelical

<sup>1</sup> On the preoccupation of these prelates with worldly affairs, and the resulting tendency of heresy to increase unmolested, see Röhrich, *Die Gottesfreunde und die Winkeler am Ober rhein*, in Illgen's, *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, vol. x, pt. 4, pp. 118 seq. (1840). For an interesting contemporary account of the clergy, especially in the diocese of Treves, see Potho of Prum, *De statu domus Dei*, in *Bibl. Max. Patrum*. Lugd., vol. xxi, pp. 489 seq.

<sup>2</sup> St. Bernard, *Serm. In Cantica*, no. 65, par. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita haereticorum*. D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, vol. xiii, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Moneta Cremonensis *adv. Catharos et Valdenses*, ed. Rome, 1743, by T. Ricchini.

poverty. The Apostolics of Everwin furnish an explanation for the wonderfully rapid growth of the German Waldenses into an organization formidable to the Church. Their creed had doubtless lived on, strengthened in the popular mind by constant contemplation of the wealth and luxury and absorption in the duties and pleasures of secular rulers which characterized the great Prince-Bishops of the Rhine valley.

## CHAPTER III

### ARNOLD OF BRESCIA

LOOKED at in the large, the history of the Church in the eleventh century presents two great conspicuous facts: the attempt to define the relation to the secular power in the Investiture struggle, and that effort to purify the clergy and bring their lives into conformity with the apostolic ideal known as the Cluniac Reform. These two movements doubtless had an incalculable influence in arousing popular consciousness to the unapostolic condition of the Church. They also helped to produce in the cities of northern Italy a state of unrest and confusion which still further emphasized the need for reform and made all ecclesiastical questions also political ones. A reformer could hardly attack any ecclesiastical evil without straightway finding himself at the head of a party in his own city arrayed against a faction itself headed by ecclesiastics.<sup>1</sup> The situation was complicated by the breach between Papacy and Empire and the warfare between the adherents of the two powers.

The prevailing evils seem to have been especially flagrant in the Lombard communes, of which Milan was the chief.<sup>2</sup> When the Synod of Sutri in 1059 enunciated the principles of reform, the Lombard bishops, who, if they tried to enforce the decrees were sometimes savagely assaulted by their clergy, found support among the people. The alliance was not always, however, between bishops and people. The Investiture struggle often arrayed the commune against the bishop, inasmuch as the burghers were striving after civil rights and political independence, and bishops who, in league with the emperor, tried to

<sup>1</sup> Arialdus at Milan, Arnold at Brescia. See below, pp. 32 seq.

<sup>2</sup> C. Schmidt, *Histoire de la secte des Cathares*, p. 19.



retain temporal power became enemies of the commune. The patriot leaders would then ally themselves with the papal legates against the bishops.

In Milan the popular party was known as the Pataria, and was led by a certain Arialdu, a man of noble birth sprung from the neighborhood of Milan, who had traveled widely and studied much. Perhaps he may have encountered Hildebrand and learned at first hand of his great effort to purify the Church. At all events he had before his eyes the ideal of the evangelical Church, and he fearlessly called upon the clergy of Milan to give up their wealth, repent of their wickedness and follow Christ as the apostles had done. Democrats and reformers flocked to his support, and for a time his faction ruled in Milan. The Pope, Alexander II, found in the Pataria a useful ally in his effort to enforce the Cluniac Reform and in opposing the Emperor and the Anti-Pope upheld by the prelates of Lombardy. Simoniacal and married priests were driven from their altars, and for a time the Pataria controlled the city.<sup>1</sup> When the Pope's opponents had been humbled, the Curia had no further need of the party of Arialdu, and the downfall of the Pataria was inevitable as soon as Rome by their aid had triumphed in Lombardy.

But the principles of Arialdu did not die with the fall of his party. The history of the communes varied greatly in details. In all, however, there was strife involving ecclesiastical questions, together with a state of unrest favorable to the development of revolutionary sentiment, political and ecclesiastical.

One of the most turbulent towns in northern Italy was Brescia, which then furnished a vivid example of the unapostolic condition into which the Church had fallen. Despite the reform decrees, the clergy were almost without exception simoniacal. The evil effect of the possession of temporal power was glaringly evident. Though the city was nominally governed by two consuls, the bishop controlled one-fifth of the land, which was

<sup>1</sup> Hausrath, *Arnold von Brescia*, p. 1. *Vita Arialdi*, AA. SS. Boll., 27 Juni, v, p. 281. Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der Deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. iii, p. 30.



infeudated to the Church.<sup>1</sup> Conflicts between the bishop and the consuls were frequent.<sup>2</sup> A sort of compromise between the lay and clerical authorities is indicated by a document of 1127<sup>3</sup> issued by both together, but this was evidently a momentary agreement, and did not mean the end of the strife.

New conflicts were imminent. The year 1127 saw two German kings contending for the imperial crown; in 1130 two Popes claimed the Fisherman's Chair. Brescia supported Lothair III and Innocent II against Conrad III and Anacletus; the laity of Brescia, that is, headed by the consuls.<sup>4</sup> The bishop, Villanus, was a creature of Anacletus, and bitter strife existed between the clergy under his leadership and the popular party. Innocent II visited Brescia in the autumn of 1132. He deposed Villanus, and replaced him by Manfred, an adherent of his own.<sup>5</sup>

It was during the confusion attendant on the schism of Anacletus that the man known to history as Arnold of Brescia first came into prominence. He was a native of the town, of noble family, born toward the close of the eleventh century. Nothing is known of the events of his early life, except that he had been ordained "*clericus ac lector*," and had been a pupil of Abelard. He was a man of affairs rather than of theories. We judge of his beliefs by his own acts and those of his followers. According to all the accounts extant of his life, all the attacks made upon him by his enemies, he remained always a consistent figure, tracing the evils of the day to the wealth and temporal power of the Church, finding a remedy in a return to the conditions of the Apostolic Age.<sup>6</sup> There is no word of Arnold's in existence to show the process by which this conviction was formed.

<sup>1</sup> Odorici, *Storie Bresciano*, vol. iv, pp. 237 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Hausrath, *ibid.*, p. 8. Giesebrecht, *ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> This document is given by Odorici, *ibid.*, vol. v, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> Hausrath, *l. c.*

<sup>5</sup> Hausrath, *l. c.* Giesebrecht, *l. c.* See Odorici, *ibid.*, vol. iv, pp. 240 *seq.*, for an account of Innocent's visit. "Innocentius papa Brixiam venit et ejecit Villanum de episcopatu." *Annales Brixienensis*, M. G. H. SS., vol. xviii, p. 812.

<sup>6</sup> See below, pp. 33 *seq.*

Besides Arnold's Lombard environment, then, the only known influence in his early life is that of Abelard, during the period when the author of the "Sic et Non" was living at the Paraclete.<sup>1</sup>

When it is remembered that Abelard exalted the province of human reason, it seems probable that the fearless independence of Arnold's later attitude was in part due to him. Abelard had, moreover, spent years in bitter conflict with ecclesiastical authorities, at whose hands he had received treatment severe, if not unjust. He had protested against the disregard of monastic vows sadly prevalent at that time. Arnold's hostility to the clergy, natural enough in a citizen of Lombardy, may well have been stimulated by Abelard. Further, the beauty of the simple life at the Paraclete must have had its effect on a man of ascetic tendencies. That Arnold was devoted to Abelard, and therefore likely to feel his influence strongly, may be inferred from his return to his master some years later.<sup>2</sup>

Of the further influences to which Arnold was subject, we know that he was "learned in the Scriptures,"<sup>3</sup> and that he can hardly have failed to hear some Patarin teaching. Moreover, the study of the Roman law was quite general in Lombardy, and inevitably made men critical of the relation between the secular and the ecclesiastical power.<sup>4</sup>

The Church as Arnold saw it in Lombardy bore little resemblance to the Church of the Apostolic Age, and the clergy did not conform their lives to the commands of Christ which

<sup>1</sup> V. Clavel (*Arnauld de Brescia*, pp. 28-29), gives exaggerated importance to the influence of Abelard's "Nec credi posse aliquid nisi primitus intellectum." For an account of Abelard's life down to this period, see J. McCabe, *Life of Abelard*, pp. 1-207.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 35 seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia Pontificalis*, c. 31; M. G. H. SS., vol. xx, p. 537. [Believed to have been written by John of Salisbury, who was with Arnold in Paris, under Abelard, and in Italy during the Roman crisis. Giesebrecht, *Arnold*, pp. 4, 124-126; Hausrath, p. 4; Pauli, *Ueber . . . Johannes Sarisburiensis*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, vol. xv, pp. 265 seq.]

<sup>4</sup> Giesebrecht, *ibid.*, p. 129. Hausrath, *ibid.*, p. 2. Breyer, *Die Arnoldisten*, p. 397. Note also quotations from Justinian's *Institutes*, in Wenzel's letter, Jaffé, B. R. G., vol. i, p. 539. For this letter, see below, pp. 42 seq.

Arnold found in the Scriptures. So in the midst of unseemly wrangles through which prelates of the Church strove to gain or to retain wealth and power, he began to cry out that by possessing wealth and power the Church had departed from the way marked out by Christ and followed by the Apostles; and that only by surrendering all property to the laity could the clergy hope to be saved.<sup>1</sup>

With relentless logic, Arnold called on the clergy of Brescia to give up their worldly goods. A fresh schism arose. Manfred and the clergy opposed Arnold, the laity supported him. Popular feeling was so intense that during Manfred's sojourn in Rome in 1137, the citizens of Brescia conspired to prevent his return. For a time Arnold's party ruled Brescia. When, in 1139, Rome condemned Arnold, his "*duo consules haeretici*" fell.<sup>2</sup>

Exiled, Arnold joined Abelard,<sup>3</sup> who, after an experience as Abbot of St. Gildas in Brittany, made stormy by his attempt to reform the monks, had returned to Paris and was teaching on Mt. St. Genevieve. In 1141 St. Bernard declared that Abelard was teaching heresy, of which, we are told, Arnold partook: "that new form of belief," as St. Bernard calls it, "which has been devised in France. Its standpoint toward virtue and vice is not moral, toward the Sacraments not faithful, toward the mystery of the Holy Trinity something quite different from that simple and sober one to which we have been trained."<sup>4</sup> Like Abelard, Arnold was lashed by St. Bernard's denunciation.

<sup>1</sup> "Dicebat enim, nec clericas proprietatem, nec episcopus regalia, nec monachos possessiones habentes, aliqua ratione salvari posse; cuncta haec principis esse, ab ejusque beneficentia in usum laicorum cedere oportere." Otto Frisingensis, *Gesta Fri-derici I*, bk. ii, c. 20, M. G. H. SS., vol. xx, p. 403.

<sup>2</sup> *Annales Brixienensis*, Ann., 1135, M. G. H. SS., vol. xviii, p. 812. (Cited by Giesebrecht, p. 130. But the year is not that of Arnold's condemnation.)

<sup>3</sup> St. Bernardi, ep. 195. *Opera*, ed. Mabillon, vol. i, p. 187; also in Bouquet, vol. xv, p. 575. Walter Map, *De Nugis*, D. I, c. 24, ed. Wright, p. 43. (Friend of John of Salisbury, who wrote during latter half of 12th century, and was present at 3rd Council of the Lateran, 1179. Hausrath, *ibid.*, p. 155, n. 6. See also below. *Historia Pontificalis*, c. 31; *ibid.*, p. 537.

<sup>4</sup> St. Bern., ep. 330. "Ad Innocentium Papam." *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 182.



With him he was condemned by the Council of Sens in 1141.<sup>1</sup>

Abelard, worn out by the labors and contentions of his strenuous life, was persuaded by Peter the Venerable of Cluny to make peace with St. Bernard and to submit to the Church.<sup>2</sup> Arnold was younger, he was vigorous and uncompromising, and he did not yield.

The sentence of Sens was not approved in France, and after the submission of the arch-heretic no bishop was found to execute the harsh judgment of the Council against Arnold. He was therefore left unmolested for a time.<sup>3</sup> Further, Hyacinthus, later a cardinal, evidently an influential man, espoused Arnold's cause.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, conditions in France were unfavorable to united clerical action. A heated controversy centred around a bitter struggle for the see of Bourges and diverted attention from all minor issues. King and Pope, noble and monk, stood arrayed against each other. Bloodshed, ban, interdict,<sup>5</sup> furnished a vivid illustration of Arnold's characteristic doctrine, while by shielding him from the punishment decreed at Sens the strife made possible a still wider promulgation of the doctrine. He tarried for a time in Paris, and at Mt. St. Genevieve "expounded sacred letters to the scholars. What he said agreed perfectly with the laws of the Christians, but differed as widely as possible from their lives. He did not spare the bishops, because of their base and avaricious greed of gain and because of their impure lives and because they sought to build the Church of God in blood." <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mansi, vol. xxi, cc. 564 *seq.* Cf. St. Bern., epist. 189; *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 182. On Abelard's views condemned at Sens, see McCabe, *ibid.*, pp. 320-321, and S. M. Deutsch, Peter Abelard, pp. 255-288.

<sup>2</sup> Hausrath, *ibid.*, p. 53. Abelard died shortly afterward (April 21, 1142), in a priory belonging to Cluny, at Châlons sur Saône. McCabe, *ibid.*, p. 359.

<sup>3</sup> Hausrath, *l. c.* St. Bern., epist., 195.

<sup>4</sup> St. Bern., ep 189. *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 184. Hyacinthus was with John of Salisbury, Arnold and Abelard in Paris in 1136. McCabe, *ibid.*, p. 291.

<sup>5</sup> Hausrath, *ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>6</sup> *Historia Pontificalis*, c. 31. *Ibid.*, p. 537.

Though Pope and bishop gave no open sign of hostility, St. Bernard had not laid down his arms. Unable to secure the execution of the papal verdict, he sought to drive the condemned man out of Christendom. He hunted him from land to land by appealing to any power he could influence. He did his best to make true his own description of Arnold: "Wherever he has once set his foot, thither he never dares to return any more."<sup>1</sup> St. Bernard mediated between the Pope and the King of France when his country lay under an interdict, and he finally succeeded in persuading Louis VII to drive Arnold from Paris and from France.

For a time, probably about a year, he found refuge in Zürich.<sup>2</sup> Still he taught and won followers.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the preaching of Henry of Lausanne had prepared the way for Arnold.<sup>4</sup> To the Bishop of Constance, who had won his see by spending large sums in Rome during the very year (1139) of Arnold's condemnation by Innocent II,<sup>5</sup> St. Bernard sent an emphatic letter of warning. Arnold, he said, was a man of ingratiating manner, who never failed to make use of all the influence he could acquire against the clergy.<sup>6</sup> We may judge both of Arnold's course in the diocese of Constance and of the effect of this letter by the fact that Arnold did not stay long in Zürich. We know also that he had preached there the regeneration of the Church by a return to the conditions of the Apostolic Age.<sup>7</sup>

He next went to Guido, the papal legate in Moravia and Bohemia.<sup>8</sup> To Guido also St. Bernard sent a letter of warning

<sup>1</sup> St. Bern., ep. 195. *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> Hausrath, *ibid.*, p. 57. The interdict was removed by Celestinus II (1143-1147).

<sup>3</sup> Otto Frising. *Gesta Frid.* I, bk. 2, c. 20. M. G. H. SS., vol. xx, p. 403. St. Bern., ep. 195. Giesebrecht, *ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> Otto Frising. *Ibid.*, p. 404. Wezel (see below, p. 42 *seq.*) writing from Rome in 1152, recommends to the Emperor Frederick I "Comitem Rodulfum de Ramesberch, et Comitem Andalricum de Leucenburch, et alios idoneos scilicet Eberardum de Bodemen" who, Giesebrecht (p. 133) thinks, were followers of Arnold from Constance, as was Wezel himself.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Hausrath, p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> Ep. 195.

<sup>8</sup> Otto Frising., *ibid.*, p. 404.

<sup>9</sup> Giesebrecht, p. 136. *Epistolae Wibaldi*, Jaffé, B. R. G., vol. viii, p. 542. See Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, vol. iv, p. 458.

couched in much the same terms as that to the Bishop of Constance.<sup>1</sup> The effect of this letter is not certainly known. For two years (1143-1145) there is no trace of Arnold.<sup>2</sup> At the close of that period he and Guido appeared simultaneously in Italy.<sup>3</sup>

At this time, according to the *Historia Pontificalis*, "Arnold promised satisfaction and obedience to the Roman See, and was received by the Lord Eugenius at Viterbo. Penance was enjoined upon him, which he agreed to fulfill: fasting, vigils and prayers about the sacred places in Rome." The errors for which Arnold made satisfaction are not stated; it is uncertain whether they were the heresies of Abelard or the direct assaults upon the Church for possessing wealth and power which had caused his banishment from Brescia,<sup>4</sup> and which he had apparently continued to make in other lands. He owed satisfaction for both. When he was condemned for his teaching at Brescia in 1139 he had promised not to return to Italy;<sup>5</sup> and the ban of Sens still hung over him.

Arnold may have forsworn at Viterbo his views on the wealth and secular power of the Church. If so, the state of things he found in Rome forced him once more to resume his mission. In Rome as in Brescia, a great many of the citizens were aroused against the secular power of the Church.<sup>6</sup> The lower nobility and the burghers had taken advantage of the prevailing disorder during the schism of Anacletus, to reorganize the

<sup>1</sup> "Arnoldus de Brixia, cujus conversatio mel, et doctrina venenum; cui caput colubae, cauda scorpionis est; quem Brixia evomit, Roma exhorruit, Francia repulit, Germania abominatur, Italia non vult recipere," etc. St. Bern., ep. 196. *Op. cit.*, *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 188. The date according to Giesebrecht (p. 135) is not before 1142 nor after the autumn of 1143.

<sup>2</sup> Vacandard, *Arnauld de Brescia*, p. 71. Giesebrecht, *ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> Giesebrecht, *ibid.*, p. 136. See also Jaffé, *Regesta*, 9296, for a document dated Sept. 12, 1145, which shows that Guido was in Italy.

<sup>4</sup> St. Bern., ep. 195. "Adhaeserat Paetro Abaelardo." But "Videbetis hominem aperte insurgere in clerum," etc. Further, he was cast out from Italy and from Rome "pro simile causa."

<sup>5</sup> St. Bern., ep. 195.

<sup>6</sup> For the whole revolutionary movement, see Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, bk. viii, cc. 4 *seq.*, 4th edition, vol. iv, pp. 428 *seq.*



Senate and replace the Papal Prefect by a Patrician of their own choosing.<sup>1</sup> Lucius II, during his reign of one year (1144–1145), had not succeeded in wielding the temporal power in Rome. He had aroused the higher nobility against the Senate; but the burghers had none the less prevailed. They had substituted Imperial for Papal authority by offering to take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor Conrad II, and by demanding that the Pope give up all temporal power and all income save tithes and free-will offerings.<sup>2</sup>

Eugenius III spent eight months early in his pontificate with his cardinals at Viterbo;<sup>3</sup> months during which the new government in Rome showed itself powerless to prevent rioting and the destruction of property belonging to the cardinals and other papalists. At the end of the year 1145 a compromise between Pope and revolutionists enabled Eugenius to enter Rome.<sup>4</sup> Strife soon broke out again, however, and in January, 1146, Eugenius found it expedient to return to Viterbo. In March he went to Sutri.

Such were the conditions when Arnold went to Rome in the latter weeks of 1145, presumably to fulfil the *penance* imposed upon him at Viterbo and to complete his reconciliation with the Roman See.<sup>5</sup> He saw, as he had seen at Brescia, the clergy engaged in unseemly strife to retain temporal power, and to continue leading the luxurious lives which Arnold thought so inconsistent with their calling. Walter Map believed that the sight of "the luxuriousness of the cardinals and their tables laden with gold and silver dishes" first led Arnold once more

<sup>1</sup> The Revolution was a fact before Arnold went to Rome (1144). See Otto Frising. *Chron.*, bk. vii, cc. 27, 31, 34. M. G. H. SS, vol. xx, pp. 264 *seq.* *Historia Pontificalis*, l. c. Two letters of St. Bernard, no. 243 (*op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 240–242), an appeal to the Romans to return to their allegiance to the Pope; no. 244 (*ibid.*, pp. 242–243), an appeal to Conrad to defend the Pope. Both letters were written in 1145–1146 (Giesebrecht, *ibid.*, p. 139), and neither contains any reference to Arnold.

<sup>2</sup> Otto Frising. *Chron.*, bk. 7, c. 31, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Until December, 1145. Giesebrecht, *ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> Otto Frising. *Chron.*, bk. vii, c. 34. M. G. H. SS., vol. xx, p. 266.

<sup>5</sup> *Historia Pontificalis*, l. c. Giesebrecht, *ibid.*, p. 138.

to lift up his voice in protest. For the Prophet of Brescia could not keep silence. First "he censured the clergy temperately in letters to the Lord Pope; but they took it in bad part, and cast him forth. He then returned to the city and began to teach indefatigably. The people flocked about him and heard him eagerly."<sup>1</sup> The Pope was absent in France, and there was no power to prevent Arnold's preaching openly.<sup>2</sup> "He was heard frequently in the Capitol and in public disputations."

What were his subjects? "He was," says Otto of Freising, "a slanderer of the bishops and clergy, a persecutor of the monks, and a flatterer of the laity as well. For he said that clergy who hold property, bishops who enjoy regalia, and monks who have possessions cannot in any wise be saved. All these things pertain to the secular rulers, and should by their beneficence be given to the laity to use."<sup>3</sup> Arnold did not hold the extreme view of the Apostolics,<sup>4</sup> or of Waldo, concerning apostolic power. He would allow the clergy to have the "first-fruits and tithes, and whatever the devotion of the people offered."<sup>5</sup> The clergy might then, according to Arnold, have an income without violating the commands of Christ and the customs of the Apostolic Age. Property they must not hold. The accounts extant of Arnold's teaching can hardly mean that he sanctioned even communistic possession, ownership of any

<sup>1</sup> Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, d. i, c. 24, ed. Wright, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia Pontificalis*, l. c. He went in January, 1147, to bless crusaders. Vacandard, *Arnauld de Brescia*, p. 81. Hausrath, *ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Otto Frising. *Gesta Frid.*, bk. ii, c. 20. M. G. H. SS., vol. xx, p. 404. Cf. Gerohus Reichersbergensis, *De Novitatibus hujus saeculi*; in Grisar, *Geroh über die Investitursfrage*, Zeitschrift für Katholischen Theologie, vol. ix, p. 549. "Memini me, quum fuisssem in urbe (Roma), contra quendam Arnaldinum valenter literatum in palatio disputasse." Breyer (*Die Arnoldisten*, p. 397), says this was not Arnold but an Arnoldist, and considers it evidence of the existence of a sect founded by Arnold—a conclusion which seems hardly warranted. See below, pp. 50 seq.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 21 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Gunther, *Ligurinus*, ed. Reuber, p. 322. Believed to be a production of the late twelfth century, the material being taken from Otto of Freising. See Hausrath, *Arnold*, p. 155, n. 8. Cf. Platform of the Romans before Arnold's advent, above, p. 38.

sort of capital by the Church as an institution. Specific charges were made against the clergy—simony, worldliness and evil living, lack of charity, "They love not God nor their neighbor,"<sup>1</sup> and all these vices were attributed to their wealth.

He then attacked the governing body of the Church, the Pope and Cardinals, for their unapostolic position. The College of Cardinals, he claimed, "was, by reason of the pride and avarice of its members, their hypocrisy and manifold sins, not the Church of God, but the house of buying and selling, and the den of thieves, who played the part of the scribes and pharisees toward the Christian people. He said the Pope was no Pope because he was not an apostolic man and a shepherd of souls, but a man of blood,<sup>2</sup> who maintained his authority by killing and burning; a tormentor of the churches; an oppressor of the innocent, who did nothing in the world but feed on flesh and fill his coffers and empty those of others. He said he was not apostolic, because he did not imitate the doctrine nor the life of the Apostles, and therefore no reverence nor obedience was due him."<sup>3</sup> Further, "Nothing in the government of the city pertains to the supreme Pontiff; ecclesiastical jurisdiction ought to be enough for him."<sup>4</sup>

It was on the common ground of this last doctrine that Arnold and the Roman Revolutionists formed an alliance. They, in their rebellion against the temporal rule of the Pope, were seeking to restore the mechanism of the Roman government to the state in which it was in the time of Constantine and Justinian, "who held in their hands the whole earth through the might of the Senate and the people of Rome."<sup>5</sup> The Revolu-

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta di Federico*, vv. 780-799. *Fonti di Storia d'Italia*, vol. i, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gerohus of Reichersberg, who regrets that Arnold was punished by death because the Church was thus guilty of bloodshed. In *De Investigatione Antichristi*, bk. i, c. 42, ed. Scheibelberger, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia Pontificalis*, c. 31. M. G. H. SS., vol. xx, 538. Cf. *Gesta di Federico*, vv. 785-795. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Otto Frising. *Gesta Frid.*, bk. ii, c. 20. M. G. H. SS., vol. xx, p. 404.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Otto Frising., bk. ii, c. 20. SS., xx, p. 404. He formulates Arnold's political doctrine thus: "Proponens antiquorum Romanorum exempla, qui ex senatus maturitatis consulto et ex juveniliū animorum fortitudinis ordine et integritate totum



tionists, as has been shown,<sup>1</sup> had reorganized the Senate. Through this body they now besought the Emperor to dwell in Rome and rule all Italy; "for all clerical obstacles are now set aside."<sup>2</sup> Arnold was not primarily a republican, he was not an imperialist. He believed that the Church was vitiated by the possession of wealth and temporal power; and he was convinced that it could be restored to apostolic purity only by losing that wealth and power. To him, then, the Roman movement afforded an opportunity to purify the Church. With this object in view, he made common cause with the Revolutionists.

From this time our sources for the life of Arnold are very meagre. The *Historia Pontificalis* ends; Otto of Freising becomes unsatisfactory; there are only a few brief notices of Arnold in the chronicles of the progress and subsequent decline of the Roman Revolution. Just here, however, may be placed two letters which are believed to have been inspired, if not written by Arnold. These form part of a correspondence between the Revolutionists and the Emperor. They are: first, a letter from "a certain friend of the Senate" to Conrad III;<sup>3</sup> second, one from Wezel to Frederick.<sup>4</sup> Giesebrecht<sup>5</sup> believes that "*quidam fidelis senatus*" of the first letter may well be Arnold himself; for he had bound himself to the Senate by an oath of allegiance.<sup>6</sup> The friend of the Senate is at all events a thorough Arnoldist. Wezel is evidently an adherent of Arnold. His identity is unknown. It seems probable that he was a German. Possibly he and the group of men mentioned in his ap-

orbem terrae suum fecerint. Quare reaedicandum Capitolium, renovandam senatoriam dignitatem, reformandum equestrem ordinem docuit." Giesebrecht (*Arnold von Brescia*, p. 19, note) does not credit this statement. Vacandard (*Arnauld de Brescia*, p. 73) does.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, bk. i, c. 27, p. 366. Otto Frising.

<sup>2</sup> Otto Frising., bk. i, c. 27, *ibid.*, p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> *Epistolae Wibaldi*, no. 216. Jaffé, B. R. G., vol. i, pp. 335 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Epistolae Wibaldi*, no. 404. *Ibid.*, pp. 534 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Arnold*, p. 142, note.

<sup>6</sup> Arnold of Brescia "qui honori urbis et rei publice Romanorum se dicebatur obligasse prestito juramento." *Historia Pontificalis*, c. 31. M. G. H. SS., vol. xx, p. 537.

peal to the Emperor, men who, like him, have German names, were followers won by Arnold during his sojourn in Constance.<sup>1</sup> It is then probable that in these documents we have reasoning after the characteristic Arnoldist method.

The letter of the man who describes himself as "*quidam fidelis senatus*" is an earnest appeal to the Emperor to come quickly to Rome and re-establish imperial control, thus limiting the ecclesiastical authority to its proper sphere. For, he says, no wars should be waged nor murders committed in the world by priests, who are not permitted to bear the sword with the chalice. Their duty is to preach, and to support their preaching by good works.<sup>2</sup> Wezel's letter was written after Conrad was dead, when Frederick had been chosen king, but before his coronation as emperor. He reproaches Frederick because he has failed to recognize the Roman people as the source of his power, but like his predecessors has obeyed the summons of the "Julianists, heretics, apostate clergy and false monks, who disregard their vows and wield authority despite the evangelical, apostolic and canon law, and in defiance of all other laws, both human and divine." Wezel then quotes St. Peter himself<sup>3</sup> to prove that the Pope is "apostate": that he is no true descendant of the Fisherman. Flee that which is of this world, "add to your faith virtue, and to your virtue knowledge." How, he says, could the members of the Curia say with St. Peter: "Behold I leave all and follow thee?"<sup>4</sup> And again, "Silver and gold have I none?"<sup>5</sup>

Wezel thus convicted the worldly See of Rome out of the mouth of the apostle whom the mediæval world honored as the founder of that See and the chief of the apostles, and proved that the Papacy was unapostolic. He then turns to the foundation of all:—the commands of Christ, uttered when he sent his apostles out into the world and, according to the belief of ecclesiastics, organized the Church. Referring again to the prelates Wezel says: "How can such men hear from the Lord's lips

<sup>1</sup> Clavel, *Arnauld de Brescia*, pp. 281-283. Giesebrecht, *Arnold*, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Jaffé, *B. R. G.*, vol. i, pp. 335-336.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Pet. 1: 4-7.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. 19: 27.

<sup>5</sup> Acts 3: 6.

'You are the salt of the earth?'<sup>1</sup> 'Ye are the light of the world?' To Peter and the vicars (*vicariis*) of Peter the Lord said: As my Father hath sent me, so send I you.<sup>2</sup> But the manner of his sending by the Father he expressed, saying: 'If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not.'<sup>3</sup> If Christ, who did no sin, was not to be believed without works, how are those to be believed who do evil—nay more, who do evil publicly?" "How," Wezel proceeds, "can the clergy, given over to luxurious living, bear to hear the foremost of the commands of the Gospel: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit,'<sup>4</sup> when they are not poor in fact or in aim?" He continues his argument, following up the quotations from the New Testament by passages from the early Fathers, showing how far the Church of his day has lapsed from the apostolic ideal of a ministry given to self-denial, humility, poverty, in obedience to the commands of Christ.<sup>5</sup> Wezel's letter, like that of "*quidam fidelis senatus*," reflects Arnold's characteristic doctrine. The two documents go to show that during the alliance with the Roman Revolutionists, Arnold retained and championed the views which had led to his banishment from Brescia and from Italy in 1137.

During seven turbulent years (1145-1152)<sup>6</sup> Arnold remained in Rome. At the end of that time the Pope made peace with the popular party. One of his demands was the banishment or surrender of Arnold.<sup>7</sup> Given these alternatives, Arnold chose exile rather than capitulation. As soon as he had left Rome he was captured. Shortly after his capture he was put to death.<sup>8</sup> The manner of his death is uncertain.<sup>8</sup> The significance of it is

<sup>1</sup> Matt. 5: 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> John 20: 21.

<sup>3</sup> John 10: 37.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. 5: 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Epistolae Wibaldi*, no. 404. Jaffé, B. R. G., vol. i, pp. 539 seq.

<sup>6</sup> Giesebrecht, *Arnold*, p. 141.

<sup>7</sup> Gregorovius, *ibid.*, 498-499, for an account of the interdict on the verge of Holy Week, by means of which the Pope prevailed over Arnold's party. See also Giesebrecht, *ibid.*, pp. 145 seq., and Clavel, *Arnould*, pp. 273 seq. *Vita Hadriani Papae IV*, Watterich, *Pontificorum Romanorum Vitae*, vol. ii, pp. 344 seq.

<sup>8</sup> For accounts of it, see Otto Frising., bk. ii, c. 20, who says he was burned, and his ashes were scattered on the Tiber; *Gesta di Federico*, for statement that he was hanged; a statement supported by Walter Map, vv, 831 seq., l. c.



unquestionable. The party which stood for evangelical poverty in the Church, which believed that the clergy should confine themselves to the duties enjoined upon the apostles by Christ, had been crushingly defeated by the power of the Church as an institution.

The defeat of a party, however, by no means necessarily implies the conquest of the principles for which that party has contended. Did the triumph of the Papacy and the death of Arnold mean the end of Arnold's influence? So Giesebrecht would have us believe.<sup>1</sup> The part Arnold played in the Roman Revolution has, for the historian of the Imperial Age in Germany, obscured the fundamental doctrine which led him to cast in his lot with the Revolutionists. That doctrine formed one of the great world currents in Arnold's time, and was destined to grow in strength during the two succeeding centuries, and Arnold had preached it untiringly with all the force of vivid, magnetic personality and overwhelming conviction.

The extent of his personal influence in the great movement toward Apostolic Christianity can never, owing to dearth of evidence, be determined. His ideas were not spread by any writings of his own, so far as we know. There is in existence no written word which can be proved to be his.<sup>2</sup> There is not even any certainty that he ever wrote books. It is true that Innocent II in condemning Arnold with Abelard after Sens commanded "that the books containing their errors"<sup>3</sup> be burned, but St. Bernard, in his account of the council, speaks only of Abelard's books.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Walter Map says: "This Arnold was condemned by Pope Eugenius<sup>5</sup> undefended, in his absence, not out of his writings, but because of his preaching."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Giesebrecht, *Arnold*, pp. 145 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See comment on the letter written by "*Quidam fidelis senatus*," above, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Mansi, vol. xxi, c. 565.

<sup>4</sup> St. Bernard, ep. 189, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 182.

<sup>5</sup> A mistake, unless the reference is to the final condemnation in 1155. The first condemnation was in 1137, under Innocent II, the second at Sens, in 1141, under the same Pope. Vacandard, pp. 63, 67.

<sup>6</sup> *De Nugis*, D. I., c. 24, ed. Wright, p. 43.

We are then largely dependent for information about Arnold upon his enemies—St. Bernard, Otto of Freising, John of Salisbury, and the rest, from whom we have already quoted. All these accounts show that Arnold preached evangelical Christianity.<sup>1</sup> They prove that he did more—that he lived the Apostolic life himself, and that he owed to his life, at least in part, his great personal influence. St. Bernard wrote to the Bishop of Constance: "Would that his doctrine were as sound as his life is austere. If you would know, the man comes neither eating nor drinking; like the Devil alone, he hungers and thirsts for the blood of souls. He is a wolf in sheep's clothing."<sup>2</sup> St. Bernard cannot deny that Arnold has the bearing of a good man. "His conversation is honey, his teaching is poison; he has the head of a dove, the tail of a scorpion."<sup>3</sup> "Arnold," says another witness, "was a man even too stern and detached in manner of life."<sup>4</sup> Otto of Freising could not condemn his life. The worst he could say of Arnold is summed up in the following statement: "He was a man not without natural ability, though he was gifted with a flow of words rather than with solid judgment. He was fond of the unusual, eager for novelty. He belonged to that type of man whose mind is easily turned to devising heresies and schismatic disturbances."<sup>5</sup> John of Salisbury testifies, "he had the priestly dignity, wore the dress of a regular canon, and mortified the flesh by fasting and sackcloth. He showed himself keen of intellect, but perverse in the interpretation of the Scriptures. He was an eloquent preacher, and inveighed vehemently against the delights of this world."<sup>6</sup> His doctrine was censured, not his life. According to Walter Map, "he was noble and great by birth. He excelled in letters, and was first in religion. He allowed himself no indulgence in food or clothing beyond what sternest

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 35, 40 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Ep. no. 195, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 187-188.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. no. 196, *ibid.*, p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta di Federico*, v. 762. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Otto Frising. *Gesta Frid.*, bk. i, c. 20, *ibid.*, p. 403.

<sup>6</sup> *Historia Pontificalis*, c. 31. M. G. H. SS., vol. xx, p. 537.

necessity demanded. He went about preaching. He sought not the things that were his own, but the things that are of God. He did always what was amiable and admirable."<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt that Arnold's apostolic life and teaching aided by learning, eloquence, and magnetism, swayed the people among whom he lived. "In no place where he dwelt would he allow the people to be at peace with the clergy. He was abbot<sup>2</sup> at Brescia, and while the bishop was on a journey to Rome, he so influenced the minds of the citizens that they would hardly admit the bishop when he returned."<sup>3</sup> It is not probable that the Apostolic doctrine on which this opposition was based, failed to find adherents also.

In Paris, after the condemnation of Sens, when Arnold was preaching at St. Genevieve, he did not lack hearers: "Poor men, who openly begged for alms from door to door, and so supported themselves and their master."<sup>4</sup>

The success of Arnold in winning converts is, however, best proved by St. Bernard's fear of his influence, expressed in the letters already cited to the Bishop of Constance, and to Guido, the Papal Legate. Some allowance should be made for St. Bernard's habitually vigorous language, and for his indignation because the French bishops had failed to execute the Papal ban which he himself had secured. Still the subject of these letters must have been a man of dangerous power. "Up to this time," wrote Bernard, "wherever Arnold has dwelt, he has left behind him footprints so foul and terrible, that where he once has set his foot, he never dares to return thither any more. Indeed he aroused with exceeding violence the very land in which he was born, and threw it into confusion."<sup>5</sup> Therefore he was accused before the Lord Pope as a very evil schismatic,

<sup>1</sup> *De Nugis*, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> A provost of Augustinian Canons was called abbot in Italy. Giesebrecht, *ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia Pontificalis*, c. 31. M. G. H. SS., vol. xx, p. 537.

<sup>4</sup> *L. c.*

<sup>5</sup> For commentary on Bernard's injustice in ascribing the confusion to Arnold, see above, pp. 32 *seq.*



and expelled from his native country. . . . Then for a like cause, he was cast out of the French kingdom as a noted schismatic. He had held to Peter Abelard, all of whose errors, attacked and condemned by the Church, he undertook to defend with enthusiasm and energy, with him and for him. Through all these experiences his frenzy has not been diverted; but his hand is still stretched out. Like a raging lion, he goes about seeking whom he may devour. He is a fugitive and a wanderer upon the face of the earth, and he ceases not to do among strangers what he may not do among his own people. . . . If you receive him, he will work discord, and devour your people. . . . He knows not the way of peace. He is an enemy of the Cross of Christ, a sower of discord, a disturber of the peace, a maker of schisms, a sunderer of unity. His teeth are arms and arrows, and his tongue is a sharp sword. Wherefore he is used to draw to himself by sweet words and the appearance of virtue the rich and powerful.”<sup>1</sup>

No man is a dangerous disturber of the established order of things and of the peace founded thereon unless he can command an enthusiastic following. Arnold was a peril to the ecclesiastical order because his attacks upon its inconsistencies and abuses aroused the people to desert the unapostolic clergy for the apostolic Prophet of Brescia. Perhaps the Bishop of Constance found out by experiences of his own the power of Arnold. It has already been shown<sup>2</sup> that adherents of Arnold's in Rome may well have been followers won at Zürich. Hausrath believes that a revolt of Augustinian canons at Zürich against the bishop may have been due to Arnold's influence.<sup>3</sup> The revolt took place, however, ten years after Arnold's departure, and there is no proof that it was an echo of his preaching.

As has been said, no one knows where Arnold was during the two years after he was driven from Zürich.<sup>4</sup> Possibly he remained, protected by the Legate Guido, in Moravia and Bohemia—a region which was to become a centre for heretical evangelical Christians later on.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> St. Bernard, ep. no. 195, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 187 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> See below.



In Rome, Arnold at once became a power. The whole history of the revolutionary movement after his appearance there testifies to his influence. One incident is particularly striking: "The citizens flocked about him," says Walter Map, "and heard him eagerly. It happened they heard how he had preached a sermon about mammon and the scorning of riches in the very ears of the Cardinals and the presence of the Pope. Arnold was cast out by the Cardinals. The people thronged to the Curia and cried out against the Lord Pope and the Cardinals, saying that Arnold was a good man and just, and the others were avaricious, unjust and evil; not the light of the world, but its defilement."<sup>1</sup>

He did not win the people by condoning their sins. One writer, it is true, calls him "flatterer of the people,"<sup>2</sup> but the more trustworthy author of the *Gesta di Federico* gives a very different account of him. "He chid with equal severity priests and lesser folk, thinking that he alone lived rightly, and that others were in error with the exception of those who adhered to his dogmas. He also carped at the deeds of the supreme Pontiff, and in short spared no one. He mingled true statements with false, and thus gave pleasure to many. He also cursed laymen for withholding tithes, receiving usury, taking what was not their own, and for gaining wealth by false means."<sup>3</sup>

The laity followed him in spite of plain-spoken denunciation of their ill-doing, and even the clergy whom he ceaselessly lashed furnished him with adherents in Rome numerous enough to be deplored by Pope Eugenius.<sup>4</sup> There is one supreme proof of the influence which made him the dread of the Prelates: on no account would the Pope suffer him to live in Rome

<sup>1</sup> *De Nugis*, d. i, c. 24, ed. Wright, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Gunther's *Ligurius*, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Vv. 767-780.

<sup>4</sup> *Epistola Eugenii III Papae*, Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Ann. 1148, no. 38, vol. xii, c. 371. "Fallax et invidus humani generis inimicus per Arnaldum schismaticum, quasi per membrum proprium, hoc effecit, ut quidam capellani unitatem Ecclesiae, quae sectionem non patitur, quantum in eis est, dividentes, ipsius Arnaldi sequantur errorem; & Cardinalibus atque Archipresbyteris suis obedientiam & reverentiam promittere & exhibere debitam contradicant."

after the downfall of the Revolutionary government. Even his dead body was a source of dread. His ashes were scattered on the Tiber, lest his body be held in veneration by the people.<sup>1</sup>

The Prelates feared Arnold even in death.

There is then no question that Arnold had everywhere he went a following. There is, however, no absolute proof that he founded a sect.<sup>2</sup> It is true that a sect called "Arnoldists" was condemned in various decrees, and mentioned by writers on heresy in the two centuries following the death of Arnold of Brescia. Few details are given concerning this sect, its origin or its dogmas. No one can be sure that the name was derived from Arnold of Brescia.<sup>3</sup> Even if this be true, it is still uncertain whether the sect was founded by him and held the beliefs which he had preached. What are the authorities on these points? The only contemporary writer who states clearly that Arnold founded a sect is the author of the *Historia Pontificalis*, who is believed to have been John of Salisbury.<sup>4</sup> This authority says that Arnold founded a sect whose members won popular favor because of the purity and austerity of their lives. "It is called the heresy of the Lombards."<sup>5</sup> The *Ligurinus*, written no latter than 1186, contains a veiled reference to such a sect.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Otto Frising., *Gesta Friderici*, bk. 2, c. 20, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Among the authorities who believe that Arnold founded the sect known as Arnoldists are: Preger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldenser*, p. 220; Dieckhoff, *Die Waldenser im Mittelalter*, p. 163 (ed. 1851); Keller, *Die Reformation und die Aleren Reformparteien*, p. 17 (ed. 1885); Tocco, *L'Eresia nel Medio Evo*, pp. 187, 258 (ed. 1884); Comba, *Histoire des Vaudois*, pp. 102 *seq.* (ed. 1901); Gregorovius, *ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 475. The following do not hold that the Arnoldists were derived from Arnold of Brescia: C. Schmidt, in *Real Encyclopedie*; G. Arnold, *Unpartheiische Kirchen u. Ketzerhistorie* (1740), pp. 378-395; Guadagnini, *Vita d'Arnaldo*, in Niccolini, *Arnaldo da Brescia*, p. 34 (1873). For Giesebrecht's view, see above, p. 45. Hahn, *Gesch. der Ketzer*, does not mention the sect. Breyer, *Arnoldisten*, pp. 389-390, does not believe that Arnold founded it.

<sup>3</sup> There was a group of heretics burned at Cologne, of whom one "Arnoldus Nomine" was called by the rest "magistrum suum." Caesar. Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, c. 19, ed. Strange, 1851, p. 298.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 34, for the authorship of the *Historia Pontificalis*.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Pont.* SS., vol. xx, p. 538.

<sup>6</sup> Unde venenato dudum corrupta sapore, Et nimium falsi doctrina vatis inhaerans servat adhuc uvæ gustum gens illa paternæ," ii, 310 *seq.*, l. c.



All other twelfth century accounts are silent regarding any organized following of Arnold's. It should, however, be remembered that the *Historia Pontificalis* is an especially reliable source.

Toward the end of the twelfth century the Papal and Imperial records begin to furnish evidence of the existence of a sect called Arnoldists.<sup>1</sup> In 1181<sup>2</sup> Lucius III issued a bull in which he condemned "catharos, patarenos, leonistas, arnoldistas."<sup>3</sup> The condemnation was substantially repeated in 1184<sup>4</sup> and in 1229.<sup>5</sup> Further, Frederick II included a sect of Arnoldists among the heretics doomed to extirpation by his ferocious edicts.<sup>6</sup> The sect is only named, not described; and it must be reiterated that according to the one reliable account which mentions a sect founded by Arnold of Brescia, that sect was not during his lifetime called by his name. "It was called the heresy of the Lombards." While these decrees are incontrovertible evidence that a sect existed called Arnoldists, they are not proof that these heretics were followers of Arnold of Brescia.

There is a little further evidence of the continued existence of such a sect. Several thirteenth century writers mention it. Among these are: David of Augsburg,<sup>7</sup> Berthold of Regensburg, Stephen of Bourbon, and Durand of Mende. Now David of Augsburg was a Franciscan, of the South German province, who died in 1272. He belongs to the early period of the organized Franciscan labors against heresy.<sup>8</sup> Berthold of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. letters of Wezel and "*Quidam fidelis senatus*" for indications that followers of Arnold had formulated his doctrine. Above, pp. 42 seq.

<sup>2</sup> According to Dieckhoff, *Waldenser*, pp. 157, 168. Breyer, *Arnoldisten*, p. 198, gives the date as 1184.

<sup>3</sup> Mansi, vol. xxii, c. 476.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 477.

<sup>5</sup> M. G. H. Ep., saec. 13; vol. i, p. 318.

<sup>6</sup> Nov. 22, 1220. M. G. H. LL., vol. ii, p. 244. Feb. 22, 1232, *ibid.*, p. 285. May 14, 1238, *ibid.*, p. 326. June 26, 1238, *ibid.*, p. 328. Feb. 22, 1239, *ibid.*, p. 485.

<sup>7</sup> Under the name "Arnostute," in *Tractat de inquisitione hereticorum*, given by Preger, in: Kgl. Bay. Akad. der Wissensch. Hist. Cl., vol. xiv, pt. 2, p. 216. Also in Martene, *Thesaurus*, vol. v, pp. 1778 seq., where it is attributed to Yvonetus. Breyer (*Arnoldisten*, p. 412) says that all the sects mentioned by David are Waldensian.

<sup>8</sup> Breyer, *ibid.*, p. 187.

Regensburg was his pupil, and was also a Franciscan. He was a popular preacher, and travelled in Austria, Bohemia and Silesia, between 1250 and 1260.<sup>1</sup> He, like his master, simply names the "Arnoldisti." If Arnold of Brescia founded a sect, there should have been traces of it, certainly in Switzerland, possibly in Austria and Bavaria. We might then expect to find a more distinctive account of these heretics than the mere reference in one of Berthold's sermons,<sup>2</sup> a reference which might well imply only an acquaintance with the stereotyped lists of heretics given in the condemnatory edicts, Papal and Imperial.

Stephen of Bourbon was a Dominican monk of Lyons, and an Inquisitor; a genial person, somewhat garrulous, who often gained information by talking with people of various sorts, somewhat as Herodotus did.<sup>3</sup> He writes in a diverting fashion of the multifarious heresies existing in Lombardy, and gives as his authority a man who had studied for eighteen years among the Waldensians.<sup>4</sup> He mentions a bewildering variety of heretics. In a list of sects named after their founders he includes the Arnoldists.<sup>5</sup> He says nothing about their tenets. He has just been speaking of "those who are called Communiati, because they say all things ought to be in common," in contradistinction to "Pauperes de Lumbardia," who receive possessions.<sup>6</sup> It is impossible to determine who these are. Stephen evidently believes them to be outside the sects, among which he has included the Arnoldists. Yet the reader is at once reminded that, according to John of Salisbury, the sect founded by Arnold was called the heresy of the Lombards.<sup>7</sup> The doctrine regarding property, suggested rather than stated by Stephen, might

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to Pfeiffer-Strohl Edition of Berthold von Regensburg (1862-1880).

<sup>2</sup> Speaking of heretics, he says: "Ein heizent Poverlewe und ein Ariani und Runkeler unde Sifrider unde Sporer und Manachei und Arnolder." Sermon, "*Saelic sint die reines herzens sint.*" Ed. Pfeiffer-Strohl, vol. i, p. 402.

<sup>3</sup> Stephen of Bourbon, *Tractatus de diversis Materiis Praedicabilibus*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, pp. iv-vii.

<sup>4</sup> *Tractatus*, etc., pt. iv, tit. 7, par. 330; *ibid.*, p. 280.

<sup>5</sup> The list reads: "Arnaldiste, Speroniste, Leoniste, Cathari, Patareni, Manachei sive Burgari; *ibid.*, p. 281.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 280, 281.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 50.

conceivably have been derived from Arnold of Brescia. It might, on the other hand, have come from the Humiliati, who certainly existed in Arnold's day, and who, as we shall see, were widely distributed through Lombardy in the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

The last reference to the Arnoldists in thirteenth-century literature is in Durand of Mende's famous little "*Rationale divinatorum officiorum*," finished in 1286, published first in Mayence in 1459, and very many times afterward.<sup>2</sup> Durand says the Church is "called a city because of the communion of her citizens; she is defended by the fortifications of the Holy Scriptures, by which heretics are repelled."<sup>3</sup> Among these heretics, whom he specifies, are the "Arnoldistæ, blasphemous heretics who say that in no place is it stated that Christ handed over the guardianship of his spouse, the Church, to sensual and unchaste servants, or gave to such the power to perform the sacred mysteries or to bind and loose, or the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Because only those, as says Gregory, even the just men who are still alive, have the power of binding and loosing possessed by the apostles, if they, together with the doctrine, hold also to the life and faith of the apostles."<sup>4</sup> This rings like the creed of Arnold of Brescia. No ministry can be a true one except through imitating the ministry of the Apostolic Age. In another place Durand says that the Arnoldists assert that men do not receive the Holy Spirit through baptism, but by the laying on of hands.<sup>5</sup> Do these two passages refer to the same sect? Upon this question no light is thrown by the context. Again, is this last doctrine likely to have been derived from Arnold of Brescia? He, to be sure, held peculiar views regarding baptism.<sup>6</sup> The doctrine attributed by Durand to his

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 59 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Note the long list of editions in the British Museum Catalogue.

<sup>3</sup> Durandus of Mende, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, lib. 1, par. 1; "*De Ecclesia*," ed. Fust & Schoffer, Mainz, 1459, fol. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. 4, *ibid.*, fol. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Lib. 1, *ibid.*, fol. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Otto Frising., bk. 2, c. 20; *ibid.*, p. 404. Praeter haec de sacramento altaris, baptismo parvulorum non sane dicitur sensisse. Further, he believed the sacraments were not valid in the hands of sinful priests. *Gesta di Federico*, ii, 784-785. Cf. Breyer, *Arnoldisten*, pp. 389-390.



Arnoldists is, however, Catharan,<sup>1</sup> and no proof exists that Arnold of Brescia was influenced by Catharism.

These thirteenth-century writers then prove that a sect called Arnoldists maintained for a time an individual existence among the numerous heretical bodies of that time. They do not prove that this sect had any connection with Arnold of Brescia. It is then not certain that Arnold founded a sect. The question whether he did or did not leave behind him an organized following is, of course, interesting and significant. The fact that this question cannot be answered does not, however, make any real difference in the estimate of Arnold's influence. There is no doubt that he won everywhere a following large enough to be a danger to the established order. His restless wanderings led him along paths which were to be trodden by many believers in primitive Christianity, in apostolic poverty. His own Lombardy was the home of the Humiliati, of a powerful branch of the Waldenses, of the nameless sects described by Stephen of Bourbon. France gave birth to Waldo, and harbored many communities of his followers. In Germany the Poor Men of Lyons especially flourished. The zeal of some of these enthusiasts may easily have been kindled by Arnold's fiery words or by their echoes. They may have been inspired by the apostolic life of the Prophet of Brescia to model their lives after the commands of Christ.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt, *Histoire des Cathares*, p. 150; Lea, *Inquisition*, vol. i, pp. 93-94.

<sup>2</sup> Breyer (*Arnoldisten*, pp. 403 *seq.*) is convinced that the Arnoldists existed in Lombardy as a separate sect when the Waldenses first appeared there; that the Waldenses were influenced by the Arnoldists, who, however, from this time ceased to exist as a distinct sect. He bases his view on the teaching of the Lombard Waldenses that the Sacraments are worthless in sinful hands, on the fact that Arnoldists and Waldenses apply to the Church the same unpleasant epithets. This last argument has little force because the epithets in question were habitually applied to the Church by people who were dissatisfied with it.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE HUMILIATI

LESS than twenty-five years after the death of Arnold, and nearly thirty years before Francis of Assisi first went to Rome, there were heard at the Vatican the voices of other men who wished to restore evangelical Christianity. Their principle was essentially that of Arnold, though their demands differed from his. Arnold's voice had made the streets of Rome resound with denunciations of the Pope and the members of the Curia for their wealth, their sins, their possession of temporal power—all forbidden by Christ to His Apostles. The new apostolic Christians came humbly seeking the Pope's sanction for their attempt to conform their own lives to the model of the primitive Church. Peter Waldo was among them. Their request that they be allowed to serve God and the Church was refused, and they were driven into the ranks of the heretics.<sup>1</sup> Francis was to make the same request, and to become the staunch supporter of the Church, when, hard pressed by heresy, she needed all the champions who would enlist under her banner.

Meantime, five years before the "First Rule" was given to Francis and his followers, a group of enthusiasts had gained audience of Innocent III on a similar errand. Like Waldo and Francis they wished the Pope to authorize them to lead a life of humility, self-denial, and hard work. They wanted to become an organized community with an established rule, sanctioned by the Curia.<sup>2</sup> Unlike Waldo, they came at the sum-

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 59 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Privilegium qualiter ordo Humiliatorum licite potest habere proprium in comuni, et de confirmatione regule, et de juramento non prestando directo prelati ordinis cum certis gratiis. June 12, 1201. Tiraboschi, *Vetera Humiliatorum Monumenta*, ed. 1766, vol. ii, p. 135.

mons of the Pope himself. Between 1179 and 1201, apostolic Christianity had become a recognized force. Innocent III realized that the Church, beset by enemies who fought for conscience' sake, needed to organize all the enthusiasm and religious zeal she could command within her own ranks. He authorized the existence of this new band of religionists, and issued rules for the three sections into which they were divided.

Thus were formally founded the three orders of the Humiliati. The orders thus sanctioned shared the fate of most of such organizations founded by enthusiasts within the Church. For a time they remained true to the ideal of the founders. Then, because of their sanctity, all people "thought themselves blessed if the brethren would receive alms from them. So it came to pass that they were enriched beyond measure, and the owners of great possessions."<sup>1</sup> The present essay is not concerned, however, with the downfall of the authorized Humiliati, but with the wider movement of which they were but one manifestation; and to this end their origin rather than their destiny needs investigation.

There is no reliable evidence bearing on the early history of the Humiliati. They did not write their history until the fifteenth century;<sup>2</sup> and their chroniclers then give no references to authorities or sources, beyond statements that they have seen certain documents of early date, which, however, they omit to transcribe, and of which no trace has since been found.<sup>3</sup> If their traditions are to be believed, the first Humiliati gave themselves up to the evangelical life of preaching and poverty a hundred years before Arnold of Brescia dwelt with Abelard at the Paraclete.

<sup>1</sup> Jacobi de Vitriaco, *Libri Duo, Quorum prior Orientalis sive Hierosolymitana; alter, Occidentalis Historiæ Nomine Inscriptur* (ed. Duaci, 1596), c. 20, p. 317. The passage refers to the "gray monks," but it is an excellent statement of the process by which the very virtues of orthodox religionists brought about their corruption.

<sup>2</sup> For account of sources, see Tiraboschi, *ibid.*, vol. iii, Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest known document relating to the history of this order is a gift of land by Guido de porta Orientalis of land in the diocese of Milan. "Guidonis de Porta Orientali pro Vicoboldonensibus Humiliatis" (1176), Tiraboschi, *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 117. In 1186 Urban III assured them the right to hold property. *Ibid.*, p. 123.



"The origin and beginning of the order of the Humiliati," runs the legend, "was in the time of the Emperor Henry II,<sup>1</sup> who came into Lombardy and held under suspicion many Lombard nobles, especially of Milan and Como. To prevent their plotting against the Empire, he sent them into exile in Germany in the year 1017. After a time these same nobles were inspired by the grace of the Holy Spirit, and promised to serve God with humility, and to put aside all worldly pomp; for they thought they could not go to Heaven without humility. Then these exiles made no delay. They put off the old man, they laid aside their costly garments and put on clothing of sack-cloth. When they came to speak together, they decided that if by God's help they should return to their native land, they would persevere in the religious life as they conceived it. When these facts came to the Emperor's ears, he summoned them to appear before him in the dress they had assumed; and wondering he said: 'Draw near, best beloved Humiliati. Have you given yourselves to religion as your habit bears witness?' To whom they answered: 'Even as thou seest, O Emperor.' And then he suffered them to return to their fatherland. And they who had been exiles brought their own families in their homes to this same devotion, and lived with their wives. Because they would not be idle they were merchants and established workshops for wool, as I know from their successors. They multiplied like fish, in Lombardy and outside it."<sup>2</sup>

These companies of devout men and women persisted, the legend runs, for more than a century without any recognized rule; "and they were called brethren of the third order."<sup>3</sup> Later, certain of the brethren separated from their wives, and communities of monks and nuns were established. Thus was founded the second order. To this order St. Bernard gave a

<sup>1</sup> Henry II was in Italy in 1004 and 1014. Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 143 (ed. 1889).

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicon Ordinis Humiliatorum Compilata de anno, 1419, cc. 1 and 2.* Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 230. For account of this chronicle see Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 *seq.*

*Ibid.*, c. 3.

rule in 1134. We are still, of course, in the domain of legend. After a time, we are told, a certain John de Oldrado, surnamed de Meda from his birthplace, a town of that name near Milan, established the first, or clerical order.<sup>1</sup>

The legend stands unsupported by any contemporary evidence. There is no trace of St. Bernard's connection with the order in his letters or any other of his voluminous writings. The canonization of John de Meda rests on tradition; though it was confidently and persistently asserted in writings of the brethren of a later day, and taken for granted in a Breviary of the order approved by Paul III in 1548.<sup>2</sup> The earliest known facts are that in 1176 a grant of land was made to the Humiliati near Milan, and that their right to hold land was assured in 1186 by Pope Urban III.<sup>3</sup> In 1201 Innocent III granted Rules to the three orders of the Humiliati.<sup>4</sup>

Though 1201 saw the first formal recognition of the Humiliati as an order, the real beginning of the movement must have been a good deal earlier. Formal recognition of every movement is always preceded by a period of obscure development; and men and women in Milan had doubtless been giving themselves to a life of poverty and humility for some years before their representatives won Innocent's sanction.<sup>5</sup>

There is, however, one bit of evidence as to their early history which the orthodox order of the Humiliati would not have cited, and which indicates that the movement of which the authorized Humiliati were but one manifestation was already a strong one at least twenty-two years before Innocent's Rule was

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicon Ordinis Humiliatorum*, cc. 9 and 10. *Ibid.*, pp. 235-236. A deed of gift from John de Meda, dated 1056, executed apparently by his wife, is one of the documents which the compiler of the Chronicon saw, but did not think it necessary to transcribe. *L. c.* Cf. *Joannis de Meda. Presbyteris, Vita Auctore anonymo*, AA. SS. Boll., vii, Sept., pp. 343 *seq.* The Life has little value. See Praef.

<sup>2</sup> *L. c.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 128 *seq.* See below, pp. 62 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> A condemnation of heretics by the Council of Verona in 1184 shows that already at that time the Church recognized the existence of true Humiliati as distinguished from false. See below, pp. 60 *seq.*

issued. "There were," says the author of the chronicle of Laon, "certain citizens at this time (1178) in the cities of Lombardy who lived at home with their families in poverty, following a certain kind of religious living. They abstained from lies, oaths, and law suits; they were content with simple clothing. They posed as upholders of the Catholic faith. They went to the Pope, and asked him to sanction their tenets. The Pope granted that they might carry out their theories provided they did this in humility and honesty; but he expressly forbade them to hold conventicles, and strictly prohibited their presuming to preach in public. They, however, defied the apostolic command, were disobedient, and allowed themselves to incur excommunication. They called themselves Humiliati, because they were not clad in dyed garments, but were satisfied with those of natural colour."<sup>1</sup>

In the light of this brief account Innocent's Rule becomes intelligible, and shows, as will appear, that the great statesman reversed the policy of his predecessor toward the apostolic reformers, and conciliated so far as he could enthusiasts who might otherwise become enemies of the Church.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that these Humiliati were received by the Pope at the very Council to which Waldo had gone to win the Church's sanction for his attempt to lead the apostolic life, and from which he, like them, went forth to strengthen not the Church, but heresy.<sup>3</sup>

The Humiliati whom Alexander III censured were almost certainly the same in origin with the men to whom Innocent III gave the Sanction of the Church twenty-two years later. The heretical Humiliati abstained from oaths; the orthodox Humiliati were, according to Innocent's Rule, to take oaths only in case of necessity. The disobedient Humiliati lived at home

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicon Laudunense*, M. G. H. SS., vol. xxvi, p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Innocent's policy toward the Poor Catholics, see below, and toward Francis and Dominic.

<sup>3</sup> Breyer, *Arnoldisten*, p. 404. But the *Chronicon Laudunense* gives 1178 as the date of Waldo's mission to Rome, and 1179 for the Humiliati. Walter Map, in his account of the appearance of the Waldenses at the 3d Lateran Council, does not mention the Humiliati; but he might have failed to distinguish among the humbly clad men who came thither on much the same errand. See below.



with their families; the third order approved by Innocent were to remain with their families, and were forbidden to put away their wives except for adultery. Both groups wore simple clothing. Both believed themselves to be champions of the Church. Both true and false Humiliati wished to preach. Permission was refused to those who first sought papal sanction. It may well be that Innocent's carefully guarded license in the Rule of 1201 was the result of the disregard of the first set of humble brethren for the unqualified prohibition of his predecessor. It had been proved that denial of the right to preach turned into heretics men who were disposed in all things else to serve the Church faithfully, and Innocent enlisted champions wherever he could.

There is further evidence that both branches of the Humiliati sprang from the same trunk. The Council of Verona issued in 1181<sup>1</sup> a decree against various heretics. Among them were named "those who falsely pretend to be Humiliati, or Poor Men of Lyons."<sup>2</sup> The execution of this decree was evidently found to be difficult, so far as the Humiliati were concerned; for, in 1197, Innocent wrote to the Bishop of Verona: "We understand that on the authority of our letter<sup>3</sup> sent to our beloved sons the clergy of your Church against the Zazari, the Poor Men of Lyons, and the Humiliati who have not yet followed the papal command, one of the aforesaid clergy has issued sentence of excommunication against the Humiliati and all heretics, without the distinction we established in our letters. Acting on the precedent of this sentence, some have shunned certain men who are called by the people Humiliati, perhaps against their will, and who savour not of heresy, but of orthodox faith, and who in all humility of heart and body are

<sup>1</sup> Bull "*Ad abolendam*," Mansi, vol. xxii, c. 476. D'Argentré, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 71, gives 1183 as the date. Cf. Mansi, *ibid.*, c. 477, for repetition of the edict in 1184.

<sup>2</sup> "In primis ergo Catharos, et Patarinos, et eos qui se Humiliatos, vel Pauperes de Lugduno, falso nomine mentiuntur. Josepinos, Passaginos, Arnoldistas, perpetuo decernimus anathemati subjacere."

<sup>3</sup> No such letter appears in the "*Regesta*" of Innocent III, nor is any such cited by Tiraboschi or by Spondanus. What his qualifications were, it is therefore impossible to determine.

anxious to be servants of God, and who may even have sworn to you that they remain faithful to the rule of the Church . . . Since it is truly not our intention to condemn the innocent with the guilty, we command that you call such men to your presence and inquire of them and of others about their life and conversation and anything else which you think should be investigated.”<sup>1</sup>

Two years later Innocent made overtures and gave a Rule to men who styled themselves Humiliati. May it not be true that in the letter just quoted he distinguished between these men, who did not wish to be numbered among the heretical Humiliati, and those obdurate people who had persisted, in the face of the papal prohibition, in obeying Christ's command as they interpreted it, and preached the gospel? The obedience of the Humiliati whom he conciliated<sup>2</sup> had been questioned on precisely the points which constituted the contumacy of the “false Humiliati.” The whole body had not disobeyed to an equal degree; but the tendencies which had made heretics of some of its members were at work in the rest. Innocent had then written to the Humiliati to suggest that they, in order to put an end to certain scandals which had been circulated regarding them, draw up for his approval a Rule. It was in accordance with this command that the representatives of the order went to Rome in 1201, and the Rule approved by the Pope was a modified version of that which they themselves prepared.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Innocentii III Veronensi Episcopo.*, Lib. ii, no. 228, Migne, vol. 214, cc. 788–789.

<sup>2</sup> See study of the Rules, below.

<sup>3</sup> *Ad scandalum extinguendum, quod contra vos fuerat obortum, vobis dedimus in mandatis . . . ut proposita vestra conformaretis in unum propositum regulare;*” *Litteræ ad præpositos primi Ordinis*; Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 140. “Cum ad sopiendum vel sepeliendum potius scandalum, quod contra vos fuerat suscitatum non paucis credentibus, vos constitutiones Ecclesiasticas non servare, ad nostram presentiam certos nuntios misissetis, mandatis vos apostolicis exponentes, nos proposita vestra de consilio venerabilis fratris nostris Vercellensis Episcopi, et dilecti filii Leco-diensis et bone memorie de Cerreto Abbatum, mandavimus in unum regulare propositum conformari. Cumque ipsi presentatam sibi a vobis vite vestre formulam et regulam, quam proponitis profiteri, examinassent diligentius, et in aliquibus correxissent, nos eam tandem per dilectos filios. . . . examinari fecimus, et tandem correx-

Rule, then, is based on the principles and the manner of life which the Humiliati had adopted. The modifications made by Innocent, and his arguments in support of those modifications, are evidence bearing on the attitude of the Curia toward the Apostolic movement after the "false Humiliati" and the followers of Waldo had proved how strong a hold that movement had over the people.

There are really three separate Rules: for the First, the Second, and the Third Orders respectively.<sup>1</sup> The first two show most clearly the circumstances under which they were adopted; the third throws most light on the character of the whole movement. The Biblical extracts cited as authority for the regulations are, it is most probable, those by which the Humiliati themselves had been influenced to their convictions. "You propose," runs the Rule, "to seek humility of heart and gentleness in life by God's aid. As the Lord says in the Gospel: 'Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls.'"<sup>2</sup> Then, doubtless having in mind the stiff-necked behavior of those other Humiliati, as well as the doubtful position of those to whom the Church's sanction was to be given, the writer of the amended Rule proceeds: "You propose to render obedience to the Church's prelates, as the Apostle says, 'Obey them that have the rule over you and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls as they that must give account,'"<sup>3</sup> for that is not true humility which lacks obedience as a yoke-fellow."

The disobedient Humiliati "abstained from law suits." The Order authorized by Innocent were told: "patience is also necessary, especially in adversity, to bear evils inflicted upon you by others. As the Lord saith in the Gospel: 'It hath been said, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; but I say

mus per nos ipsos, et correctam curavimus approbare." *Literæ ad dilectis filiis de Braida*, Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136. Cf. *Literæ ad Ministros tertii ordinis*, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>1</sup> Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 128 *seq.*, 135 *seq.*, 139 *seq.* The Bull was issued June 7, 1201.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. 11: 29.

<sup>3</sup> Heb. 13: 17.



unto you that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek turn to him the other also; and whosoever shall compel thee to go with him a mile, go with him twain, and if any man will sue thee at law and take thy coat, let him have thy cloke also.'<sup>1</sup> Again, the Apostle: 'Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath; for it is written, vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.'<sup>2</sup> Again he saith also: 'Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law one with another. Why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?'<sup>3</sup> And again the Lord in the Gospel: 'In your patience possess ye your souls.'<sup>4</sup> Again, 'Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven.'<sup>5</sup> Imbue yourselves also with fervent charity which is summed up in two precepts, that is to say in the love toward your God and your neighbor, as it is written: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself.'<sup>6</sup> Charity should be shown even to thy enemies, for the Lord said: 'Do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your father which is in Heaven; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.'<sup>7</sup> Also the Apostle: 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him, and if he thirst, give him drink.'<sup>8</sup> One of the reproaches cast upon the Church by Apostolic reformers was that, contrary to the commands of Christ and the Apostles, her prelates engaged in law suits and contentions. For this Arnold attacked the Clergy; so did the Apostolics of Cologne, and Waldo.<sup>9</sup> So did earnest Churchmen who remained sons of the Church whose faults they saw and lamented.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Matt. 5: 38-41.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. 12: 19.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. 6: 7.

<sup>4</sup> Luke 21: 19.

<sup>5</sup> Luke 6: 37.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. 22: 37-39.

<sup>7</sup> Matt. 5: 44-45.

<sup>8</sup> Rom. 12: 20.

<sup>9</sup> See above, pp. 22 seq.

<sup>10</sup> See reproach by Alexander II to the clergy of Lucca, in *Memorie di Matilda*, vol. ii, p. 133. Also Pet. Damiani, ep. i, 15. *Opera*, ed. cit., vol. i, p. 25.

It may well be, then, that the Humiliati who defied the Church had decided on the basis of these very texts cited in Innocent's Rule that Christ had intended His disciples to "abstain from law suits."

The disobedient Humiliati "abstained from oaths." Apparently the Humiliati of the Rule had wished Innocent to allow them also to refrain from oaths. This the Pope could not do without some qualification; for taking an oath was a necessary part of many business transactions, and jurisdiction over all cases in which an oath was involved belonged to the Church.<sup>1</sup> Here, then, the great statesman was on difficult ground. The Humiliati, in the Rule which he had told them to prepare, had incorporated a principle held by all members of their brotherhood, the disobedient and the wavering alike, which he could not sanction their retaining. They believed that this tenet rested on an incontrovertible command of Christ. Innocent had then to bring them to a different interpretation of Christ's command, or lose their loyalty and drive them into the ranks of the too numerous apostolic heretics, among whom were already counted many of their brethren. He began his amended version of this section of the Rule with the clear, unqualified statement which had doubtless formed a part of the Rule as they had submitted it to him—the apostolic mandate on which other Christians have based a belief in the sinfulness of all oaths. "But above all things, my brethren, swear not at all, neither by Heaven, neither by earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation,' as saith the blessed Apostle James."<sup>2</sup> Having laid down for the order as a law for their guidance a precept they had adopted, the Pope proceeded to "interpret" it. "For," he says, "the indiscreet and impulsive taking of oaths is forbidden, not only by James in his Epistle but by Christ Himself, who said: "It hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths; but I say unto you, Swear not at all, neither by Heaven,

<sup>1</sup> *Corpus Juris Canonici*, c. xxii, qu. 5, c. 7; and X bk. ii, tit. 1, c. 13.

James 5:12.

for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is His footstool; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black.'"<sup>1</sup>

There follows the explanation by which Innocent tried to prevent these Humiliati from interpreting these commands in the painfully literal way which the Church had reason to dread, because of her experience with other Apostolic Christians. "When Christ says, 'Swear not at all,' it is impulsive swearing that He prohibits. And, indeed, should we take oaths not from impulse, but from necessity. When He adds, 'neither by earth nor by heaven,' He forbids indiscreet swearing, because we should not swear by the creature, but rather by the Creator. 'But let your communication be yea, yea; and nay, nay,'<sup>2</sup> that is, whatever you utter in affirmation or denial, should be the thought of your heart. For not only affirmation or denial is involved, but rather truth itself, as Christ according to John frequently says in the Gospel, 'I say unto you Amen, Amen.' All that goes further than this leans to the side of evil; its nature, however, is not so much that of *culpa* as of *poena*. Furthermore, the burden of the oath rests less on him who takes it than on him who requires it, because it proceeds from that weakness which is ever a matter rather of *poena* than of *culpa*."

Innocent would have the Humiliati understand, moreover, that Christ and the Apostles did not, as they had supposed, prohibit the taking of oaths, but on the contrary sanctioned the practice. "It is permitted," proceeds the Rule, "to swear under the compulsion of necessity. This is taught by the Apostle when he says, 'For men verily swear by the greater; and an oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife.'<sup>3</sup> The angel also, whom John saw in the apocalypse, who stood 'upon the sea and upon the earth, and lifted up his hands to Heaven, sware by Him that liveth for ever and ever.'<sup>4</sup> And thou shalt swear, the Lord liveth in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness,' saith Jeremiah the Prophet."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Matt. 5: 33-36.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. 5: 37.

<sup>3</sup> Heb. 6: 16.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. 10: 5.

<sup>5</sup> Jer. 4: 2.



This portion of the Rule has been quoted somewhat at length because it shows the great anxiety of Innocent to retain these Humiliati within the Church.<sup>1</sup> Starting with an apparent agreement that they may keep a tenet and a practice, itself a fundamental belief of all the Humiliati and of other Apostolic Christians, whose influence the Church had reason to dread; which would, unqualified, inevitably lead to conflict with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, the Pope "diligently corrected" and qualified the original, unequivocal statement "Swear not at all," until the Rule no longer threatens any controversy or difficulty. That they accepted the Papal interpretation of their own doctrine seems unquestionable; there is no record of disobedience.<sup>2</sup>

Preaching was one of the characteristic practices of the Humiliati, and persistence in preaching in the face of the unqualified, uncompromising prohibition of the Pope had been the form of disobedience which brought about the condemnation of the "false Humiliati." This obligation, believed by so many Apostolic Christians to have been laid by Christ upon His servants, was incorporated in the Rule for the government of their life submitted to Innocent by the Humiliati in 1201. Innocent treated the subject with caution. The Rule runs: "It shall further be your custom to come together in a suitable place every Lord's Day; and then shall one or more of the brethren of proved faith and tried religion, powerful in deed and word, with the permission of the Bishop of the diocese, utter the word of exhortation, warning his hearers and leading them to honest habits of life, in such a way that no word shall be said about the articles of belief and the sacraments of the Church."

<sup>1</sup> In Tiraboschi's edition, this portion of the Rule occupies more than two pages out of a total of eight.

<sup>2</sup> This part of the Rule admits of another interpretation, less plausible than the one adopted above. It is possible that the prohibition of oaths had been found by the Humiliati themselves, already wavering from their first intention to follow literally, at no matter what cost, the Gospel commands, to be inconvenient. They were not ready to cast aside altogether the tenet regarding oaths. They were glad to explain away its rigor. But even if this interpretation be the true one, it does not disprove their connection with the heretical Humiliati, who also held this tenet.

The license to preach could not be altogether withheld in the face of the insistence of the Humiliati and the risk of antagonizing them. It was therefore given, and carefully qualified. On the other hand, Innocent provided against trouble which might be caused by over-zealous bishops. "Beyond the limits heretofore stated," says the Rule, "we forbid any bishop to hinder brethren of this sort from uttering the word of exhortation; since, according to the Apostle, the Spirit ought not to be quenched."

The Third Order, from whose Rule the preceding quotations have been made, were, it must be remembered, like the legendary founders of the movement, laymen living not apart from the world, but at home with their families. According to the Chronicle of Laon, the heretical Humiliati resembled them.<sup>1</sup> Whatever can be learned concerning the manner of life of the Third Order bears directly on the "false Humiliati." Involved as they must be in secular affairs, they were, nevertheless, so runs the Rule,<sup>2</sup> to obey the laws of Christ. "'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.'<sup>3</sup> 'Strive to enter in at the strait gate; for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction and many there be that go in thereat; because strait is the gate and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.'<sup>4</sup> Further, keep peace with all men; and return all money taken in usury and all ill-gotten gains."

All the three orders of the authorized Humiliati held property. The members of the Second order were communists.<sup>5</sup> Apparently the brethren of the Third held possessions as individuals; for the Rule provided that they were to supply the needs of brethren who were in need, and disabled by illness.<sup>6</sup> If property were held in common, all would have shared alike

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 59 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. 2: 12.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. 7: 13.

<sup>5</sup> Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-137.

<sup>6</sup> *Sciatis autem, quod vestri moris existit, si quis de vestra societate rebus temporalibus indiguerit, aut forte infirmitate detentus fuerit, tam in rebus temporalibus quam in custodia necessaria ei subvenire. Ibid.*, p. 133.

as a matter of course, and no such provision in the Rule would have been necessary. The Rule lays certain restrictions on the use of all property possessed by the Second and Third orders, as communities or as individuals. The First order was to pay no tithes—quite naturally, as the brethren were priests.<sup>1</sup> The Second order paid tithes on property, but not on products.<sup>2</sup> The Third or secular order was laid under strict obligations as to the duties of its members to contribute in this way to the support of the Church. They were to pay tithes and first-fruits. They were on no account themselves to possess tithes. Nor was their property really their own after the tithes were paid. "Of the fruits that remain to you, you ought to give alms. Give to the poor all that is left after your just and necessary expenses are paid. 'Give alms of such things as ye have; and behold, all things are clean unto you.'<sup>3</sup> Again, 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal.' " <sup>4</sup>

Between the "false Humiliati" and the Humiliati who formulated the Rule which, with certain amendments, was issued with the Papal sanction and has been in part analyzed, there existed a resemblance so close that they must have been originally one body. The Biblical commands cited in the Rule as authority for the tenets and practices of the brethren were probably the original sources of their conviction that those customs and practices were enjoined by Christ upon His followers and maintained during the Apostolic Age. The Humiliati whose reconciliation with the Church was assured by Innocent's careful policy, departed from the spirit of the movement, which was essentially an apostolic one. Their fate is a matter of history, and of history which has no part in an essay on

<sup>1</sup> Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, p. 142. Cf. document giving them the right to redeem tithes (1186). Tiraboschi, vol. ii, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> Luke 11:41.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. 6: 19-20.



primitive Christianity.<sup>1</sup> The other Humiliati, false according to Innocent III, true to their convictions at great cost, were lost to sight among the Apostolic heretics who abounded in Lombardy. They had much in common with Arnold of Brescia, and may easily have coalesced with his disciples. Like him, they believed in a life of poverty, not destitution. With him, they agreed that tithes and first-fruits should be given to the clergy. On the other hand, like the followers of Arnold, they were naturally swept along with the Waldensian portion of the apostolic movement.

The Humiliati and the Arnoldists lost their separate identity in their fusion with the Waldenses, to whose rapid progress in Lombardy both largely contributed. They are referred to by name as late as 1213;<sup>2</sup> but they are coupled with the Poor Men of Lyons. The heresies ascribed to both sects are: that they preach in secret, and assail the priesthood and the Church of God.<sup>3</sup> Stephen of Bourbon, when he names the sect existing in Lombardy, on the authority of a man who for eighteen years had studied in the sect of the Waldenses in Milan, does not mention the Humiliati. Perhaps, however, they are to be recognized in the "Poor Men of Lombardy, who receive possessions."<sup>4</sup> For, if the practice of the heretical Humiliati is revealed by the Rule, they owned property, but yet were poor, since they reserved for themselves only enough to supply actual needs, and gave all that remained as alms. To their influence and that of the Arnoldists may be in part ascribed the peculiar character, different in some features from their French brethren,

<sup>1</sup> The order fell into disrepute. In 1560 it was abolished, except for the sisterhood of the Second Order, called Blasonist Nuns after Clara Blasso of Milan. *Real Encyclopædie*, vol. viii, p. 447.

<sup>2</sup> *Burchardi et Cuonradi Urspergensium Chronicon*, M. G. H. SS., vol. xxiii, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> The Papal approval of the Franciscans and Dominicans is here definitely ascribed to the existence of the Humiliati and the Poor Men of Lyons, whose influence it was hoped might be counteracted by the Mendicant Orders.

<sup>4</sup> "In occultis quoque predicationibus, quas faciebant plerumque in latibulis, ecclesiæ Dei et sacerdotibus derogabatur." *L. c.* Steph. Borb. *Tractatus*, etc., pt. 4, tit. 7, par. 330, ed. cit., p. 280.

of the Lombard Waldenses and the German converts won by their missionaries.<sup>1</sup>

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The foregoing chapters form part of a larger work which the writer hopes some day to complete. This will deal with the Waldenses, and also with sundry Forerunners of St. Francis of Assisi who, like him, remained loyal sons of the Church.

<sup>1</sup> In support of the theory that the rapid growth of the Waldensian movement in Lombardy was due to the presence of the Humiliati, see, among other authorities, Comba, *Valdo ed i Valdesi*, pp. 99 *seq.* *Real Encyclopædie*, vol. viii, p. 477. Lea, *Inquisition*, vol. i, p. 76. Breyer, *Arnoldisten*, p. 405. For the missions of the Lombard Waldenses in Germany, see Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101; H. Haupt, *op. cit.*, *Waldenverthum und Inquisition im Südöstlichen Deutschland*, in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, vol. i, pp. 285-286 (1889).

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